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THE TRANSCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF AN ANONYMOUS PHYSICIAN'S HANDBOOK DATING TO THE YEAR 1720

Michael David Miller

1986

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The Transcription and Historical Analysis of an Anonymous Physician's Handbook Dating to the Year 1720

A Thesis Submitted to the Yale University

School of Medicine in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Medicine

by

Michael David Miller

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract page 1
Preface 2
Chapter 1: Historical Introduction 3
Chapter 2: The Manuscript 14
Chapter 3: Historical Analysis 81
Epilogue 90
Appendix A: Manuscript's Glossary 91
Appendix B: Manuscript's Table of Contents 95
Appendix C: Verses by Thomas May, Esq. 103
Appendix D: Bibliography 104
Appendix E: Footnotes 107

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Frontispiece of the Mystic Manuscript page 18
Figure 2: Table of Terms from the Mystic Manuscript 24
Figure 3a: Astrologo:Physical Discourse from the Mystic Manuscript 26
Figure 3b: Astrologo:Physical Discourse from the Pharmacopoeia Londenesis, by Nicholas Culpeper, 1702 edition 27-8
Figure 4a: Table of Symbols from the Mystic Manuscript 47-8
Figure 4b: Table of Symbols from the New London Dispensatory, by William Salmon, 1696 edition 49
Figure 5: Inside front cover of the Mystic Manuscript 78

ABSTRACT

A medical handbook dating to the year 1720 is examined. Following a historical introduction exploring the relevant men and ideas of the period, a transcription and analysis of the theoretical and selected clinical sections are presented. Included in the appendix is a complete table of contents for the manuscript. Much of the material has been traced to published works by Nicholas Culpeper (1616 - 1654), William Salmon (1644 - 1713), and Lazarus Riverius (1589 - 1655). None of the sections appear to be written by the compiler of the manuscript. The author's ideas about the practice of medicine are reflected in the selections he made from the available writings for inclusion in the handbook.

Folowing the transcription is a historical analysis examining the evolving hierarchy in English medicine of the period. The conclusion is reached that the manuscript was compiled by an English apothecary of unkown identity whose medical thinking is a mixture of classical and quackish origins. This is seen in the combination of the herbal, chemical, and occult philosophies and cures found in the manuscript, and reflects the situation of the common man's medicine in eighteenth century England.

PREFACE

While visiting the Mystic Seaport Museum, I happened upon a curious volume. Upon further investigation in the card catalogue, this was revealed to be a physician's textbook, written in 1720, containing "the popular medical philosophies of the period". Such philosophies included Galenic and Hermetic writings, prescriptions and treatments, and, as well, ideas and atttitudes which we today would consider quackery, as represented in the section of the manuscript entitled "Astrologo:physical Discourse of ye human vertues in the body of man".

The introduction to the manuscript is a bold declaration which reads, in part, as follows:

> Courteous reader; If thou ever intendeth to study physick, and turne neither fool nor knave in that famous science, be well skilled in this astro=physical discourse following, here is enough for thee to whit thy wits upon; sympathy, and antipathy, are the two hinges upon which the whole body of physick turns; thou hast the basis of them here; here is a foundation for thee to erect the whole fabrick upon; if thou beest wise; and if not, thou art unfit to make a physician.

I found on further examination that the work was a compilation from the writings of several authors, which made the work even more fascinating, as it appeared a curious blend of commonsensical empirical medicine and quackery.

I was intrigued by the text and the challenge of determining the pedigree of the authors of the many sections comprising the treatise and decided to devote closer attention to the manuscript. With the advice of a number of historians and librarians, I now submit my research as my M.D. thesis.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Before discussing the manuscript, a short review of the medical thinking prevalent prior to the early 1700s is in order. This introduction will highlight the men and ideas relevant to the Mystic Manuscript. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the time of such prominent established and novel medical thinkers as Paracelsus, William Harvey, Thomas Willis, and Thomas Sydenham. During these years many diverse and often discordant new ideas were developed. It was a time when many argued for and against the teachings of the classical scholars.

Emerging from the medieval period both England and the European Continent were steeped in Galenic tradition. Galen (2nd C. A.D.) was a prolific writer and medical theoretician. He attempted to create a unifying basis of anatomy and physiology. He based his physiology on the Hippocratic humors of yellow bile, blood, black bile, and phlegm. These were the bodily equivalents of the Pythagorean elements of air, fire, earth and water. Each of the Pythagorean elements and Galenic humors were a combination of two of the basic qualities: hot, cold, moist and dry. Air was hot and moist (yellow bile), fire was hot and dry (blood), earth was cold and dry (black bile), and water was cold and moist (phlegm). The disease state was thought to be an imbalance or disproportion of these basic qualities. In the Galenic schema this was expressed as a derangement in the bodily humors. This established a basis for medical treatment. Because illness was due to an imbalance of the four qualities, a medicine that promoted a production

of the humors with the opposite qualities should help the illness by re-establishing a balance of the qualities. This is the basis for the Galenic idea of "opposites cure".

Medicines taken by mouth would be effective according to humoral physiology because the humors were formed from food in the liver. From there the blood carried the humors to all parts of the body. The humoral theory was also the basis for blood-letting as a therapy. The "bad humors" could literally be removed from a diseased location where a local imbalance had occurred.

The first vocal figure of deviation from traditional Galenic ideas was Paracelsus (1493-1541), whose real name was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim. He took parts of Galenic pathology, and added novel features of his own. Of those features, the idea of the "three principles," (salt, mercury, and sulphur) received the most attention. The "principles" form the core of a system of pathology Paracelsus never clearly explained. In this schema everything has its natural characteristics determined by the relative amounts and combinations of these basic units, much as the qualities do in Galenic theory. Unfortunately, in his writings, the presentation of the principles, the humors, the qualities, and their interrelationship is not clear.[1]

Although the introduction of the three principles was an original contribution to the current theories of disease, the greatest controversy he provoked centered about his use of these new theories to promote chemical treatments. He believed that the healing arts

stand upon four pillars: 1) philosophy of nature, 2) astronomy, 3) chemistry to provide drugs, and 4) virtue.[2] The third item on this list was controversial. Previously medicines had been based in the herbal tradition. The origins for the use of chemicals in medicine were with the medieval alchemists; they were the earliest pharmacists and the first to begin experimenting with chemical methods.

The basis for the power of the new chemical medicines was twofold. The first was that the chemical cures were purified substances of natural medicines, and thus were qualitatively the same, but more potent than the traditional herbs. The second basis for the use of the chemicals in therapy centered around the Paracelsian analogy of the microcosm and the macrocosm. This analogy asserted that the principles which rule the large observable phenomenon also apply to the small unobservable processes. As applied to medicine, the chemical processes are the microcosm and the health of the individual the macrocosm. Thus chemical remedies were believed effective since man is composed of chemicals and chemical processes, which in their sum would determine the health of the individual. This is similar to the Galenic schema of disease which linked the unobservable qualities to the observable humors.

Other deviations from precedent included his assertion that like cures like; traditional Galenic theory held that opposites cured. Paracelsus also swerved from tradition and applied chemical principles to uroscopy. He believed that the only way to understand the pathology revealed by the urine was to examine it by chemical methods

such as distillation and coagulation.[3]

It was for the promotion of these ideas that Paracelsus became famous.[4] His ideas achieved the level of renown they did because of the inflammatory nature of his writings and their call for reform which stirred controversy for the next 150 years.[5]

The emphasis on the chemical cure was the unifying aspect of Paracelsianism. However, because of the confusing way in which he often expressed his ideas, his school became disorganized and inconsistent in its teachings. However, this lack of clarity did not lessen the effect he had on medical thinking. The introduction of the chemical ideas provided an impetus for changes in the core of medical theory and practice.

This change did not come easily. Many opposed Paracelsian ideas based on traditional medical beliefs, while some objected on socio-religious grounds. This conflict is important to our discussion because it was in this context that the English were first exposed to Paracelsian thoughts. In the mid-sixteenth century Erastus, a Continental physician, strongly attacked Paracelsianism on its religious implications. Erastus could not accept the ultimate extension of the microcosm-macrocosm analogy which likened the Divine Creation to a chemical separation.[6] The writings of Erastus reached England before the specifics of Paracelsian treatment. Thus, when details of Paracelsianism did come to England the physicians were able to distinguish between its theoretical and practical sides. Having received advanced warning about the two separate aspects of

Paracelsianism, the English were able to do what Continental doctors found difficult. The English incorporated only the useful Paracelsian ideas into their practice, and simply discarded the religious implications which did not fit with their society. As Allen Debus, the Paracelsian scholar, wrote:

> The great majority of English physicians and surgeons had adopted a compromise position by the early years of the new century. They readily accepted those of the new remedies which proved their worth, but very few of them concerned themselves with the deeper and more occult aspects of Paracelsian thought. This is in decided contrast with the Continent, where the theory and practice were generally more closely associated and the conflict between the Galenists and the Paracelsians was often far more bitter.[7]

Thus the chemical aspects of Paracelsian thought came to be incorporated into English medicine, without displacing the traditional ideas. The practitioner did not have to choose between the new-chemical and the traditional-herbal when making a selection for treatment. Often the two paths crossed. The chemically oriented physician did not restrict himself to chemical theory alone: "...herbs and plants formed a valuable part of the physician's cures just as long as they were treated chemically before administered to the patient."[8]

The next major figure to appear in the Parcelsian line was Jan Baptist van Helmont (1577-1644). Both a scientist and a religious man, van Helmont was a rebel like Paracelsus. Van Helmont gave new energy to the idea of chemical cures.[9] He supported and extended the microcosm-macrocosm idea, and propagated the notion that "...chemistry would provide the true and effective remedies; but more

than this, it would provide a key to the understanding of nature."[10]

Van Helmont was very important to the development of Paracelsianism in England. Van Helmont's collected writings first appeared in England in 1648. During the next decade his impact was so profound that the English subscribers to the chemical viewpoint were frequently called 'Paracelsio-Helmontians'. The success of his propagations was great. His followers took sides against the Royal College of Physicians with a call to replace the Galenic teachings with chemical theories as the core of medical thought.[11] Thus, Van Helmont not only extended the chemical aspects of Paracelsianism, but the controversial as well.

Moving into 17th century English medicine, the two great physicians were Thomas Willis (1621-1675), and Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689). Willis was the next important figure in the advance of chemical treatments into English medicine. In reasoning about medical problems he integrated the major strands of Galenic and chemical thought. His position was close to that presented in the Mystic manuscript.

Sydenham was famous for his clinical observations, and has been called the English Hippocrates. Although both Sydenham and Willis were great physicians, they differed greatly in theoretical and practical matters.

The difference between these two giants can be seen regarding their views on Harvey's discoveries about the circulatory system. Harvey showed that blood flows in one direction through the veins and

thus must circulate throughout the body, and is hence never stagnant. Bloodletting and humoral pathology came under sharp scrutiny with this discovery. The basis for the bloodletting had been to drain away the bad humors. However, if the blood circulates, the humors would be mixed and distributed evenly throughout the body, and thus the draining of the blood could not remove bad humors from the diseased site. The circulation of the blood also opposed the traditional humoral pathology, which rested on the idea that illness is due to a stagnation and festering of the humors in the affected site or organ.

In their approach to Harveian circulation Sydenham and Willis differed greatly. This was a reflection of their different approaches to disease and medical practice. Willis accepted Harvey's findings about the circulation, and saw the need for a revision of the humoral system based on these discoveries.[12] Sydenham, in contrast, took no notice of Harvey's discoveries or its implications. "Nowhere in the entire corpus of Sydenham's published work is the name of William Harvey mentioned."[13] Sydenham represented the more traditional school following along the path started by Galen.

Another great clinical physician of the this period was Lazarus Riverius (1589-1655). Riverius was an integral part of the Continental medical establishment. He was an esteemed professor of medicine at Montpelier, a leading medical center in France. The books he published were mostly practical clinical works, and received wide attention after their translation into English.

Riverius' works were traditionally Galenist and clinically

oriented, consisting of case reports, with selected traditional and chemical remedies. Like Sydenham, he was noted for his clinical observations, including the first description of a congenital diaphragmatic hernia. However, unlike Sydenham, he ventured much deeper into the theoretical framework of medical practice. "He was the first to introduce into Montpelier the spagyric medications such as pure metallic substances."[14]

During this same period, while theoretical medicine was changing with the arrival of the chemical treatments and an increased interest in scientific observation, there was also an increase in quackery and empirical medicine. Medicine was increasingly being practiced by those outside the traditional roles. In seventeenth century England, the apothecaries increased in numbers, and in their role as health care providers. Two of the most prominent men in this group were Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654) and William Salmon (1644-1713).

Nicholas Culpeper was a university educated apothecary who learned his trade through the apprentice system. He brought the mark of distinction to himself by translating the Royal College of Physicians' Pharmacopoeia from time honored Latin into English. He was not a member of the College. For his action he received the full abuse of the reigning medical establishment, and his reputation as a quack has been preserved into modern times. However, the accuracy of this assessment has been questioned. Said the late F.N.L. Poytner:

> Is Culpeper worthy of study at all? May we not accept the general verdict on him as a vituperative quack who well reflects the turbulence of his times as the founder of a modern herbalist cult which flourishes at the

> expense of orthodox medicine? I should be content to let this verdict stand if it could be justified by the facts, but--to me at least--it seems to be so false that it might almost be characterized as "anti-historical." If our concern is the history of medicine as it was professed and practiced, then Culpeper is a figure of outstanding importance, for he had a far greater influence on medical practice in England between 1650 and 1750 than either Harvey or Sydenham. His writings reflect faithfully the orthodox medicine of his own time, and his translations of the leading European medical writers of his age gave to English doctors for the first time a comprehensive body of medical literature in their own tongue which represented the best contemporary authorities.[15]

Poytner goes on to argue that Culpeper does not fit any definition of a quack.

Culpeper's interest in astrology has also been used to sustain his label of quack. The origin for this interest is unknown, but an early experience of Culpeper's may have influenced him in that direction. As a young man, Culpeper was to run away with his lover. As they approached their rendezvous site, she was killed by lightning. This incident seemed to convince Culpeper of the influence of nature and the heavenly bodies in the lives of men.

Regardless of how the College of Physicians felt about Culpeper, his works were widely reprinted and read. Two of the earliest medical texts printed in the British North American colonies were his works. In addition, Culpeper's "Herbal" has been reprinted as recently as 1947.[16]

Although Culpeper was considered a quack in his day, only to have that designation honorably removed, William Salmon's title of quack has remained. In fact, Salmon was the most famous charlatan of his day.[17] Salmon, like Culpeper, had many of his works widely

reprinted. However, in originality they were different. Salmon's works were markedly unoriginal, being taken mostly from other's texts.[18] Many of Salmon's works also differed from Culpeper's in content. Salmon's works were more often associated with those of empirics and true quacks than with those of the accepted apothecaries. Some of his books are more akin to cookbooks than to medical texts.[19]

Thus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the accepted philosophies and practices of medicine were very diverse. Galenism had been the gospel, but it was being challenged. A chemical revolution had begun. Many new ideas and scientific discoveries had arisen, but the old ways were still firmly entrenched. Slowly these new ideas progressed and gained acceptance, later merging with advances made in clinical observation.

Coming into the eighteenth century the diversity of forces in the medical arena was harnessed by Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1738). Boerhaave was the greatest medical man in the eighteenth century. He was renowned as a clinician, teacher, chemist and above all as a theoretician and author. He "...synthesized into a satisfactory whole the various strands derived from the new mechanical philosophy, the new chemistry, and the remnants of classical Galenism".[20] He accepted and understood Harvey's discoveries and incorporated them into his views of anatomy and pathology. Boerhaave took the many strands coming out of the seventeenth century and tied them together so that medical progress after his time proceeded with a more unified

front into the "modern era".

Evidence of his influence is seen in the work of his pupil Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777), who was also a great systematist. Haller was a great clinician, but also a well known experimental scientist who did research distinguishing the different actions of the nerves and muscles.

These are the descendents of the upheaval that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The diversity of thought and practice prevalent in the seventeenth century is well represented in the Mystic Seaport manuscript.

CHAPTER 2: THE MANUSCRIPT

In this chapter the transcription of the manuscript will be presented with relevant analysis and additions. The hypothesis being explored is that the manuscript was compiled as a medical handbook by "Andreas Maior" in the year 1720. The importance of the Mystic Seaport manuscript arises from the variety of sources the author chose in compiling the volume. Several sections from the manuscript have been traced to their original source in published books. The Introduction and the "astrologo:physical" discourse are from Pharmacopoeia Londinesis by Nicholas Culpeper; the table of chemical and astrological symbols is from works by William Salmon (either Synopsis Medicinae or New London Dispensatory); and much of the material from the transcribed clinical sections is from several works of Lazarus Riverius. Although the origins for all sections of the manuscript have not been located, it seems that the compiler did not become a "true author", as he did not advance any theories of his own. References to practitioners at such ends of the medical spectrum are highly significant because they indicate that the author was receptive to widely varying medical theories and practices. In a similar manner the specific sections from their works that he chose to include and exclude is illustrative of his individual preferences regarding the field of medicine. As the manuscript is presented, the orignal sources, where known, will be identified and any deviations noted.

The transcription process was hindered at points by the age of

the text and difficulty in deciphering the author's handwriting. Illegible words are indicated with a question mark.

The manuscript is hand-bound in leather, measures about 4.0 X 10.0 X 15.0 centimeters, and contains about 340 pages. It is in fair condition, several of the pages are loose, and the binding is tight. A hand inked plant-like design is centered on the front cover; the back cover is blank.

The manuscript is divided into several sections. Page numbering does not start in the manuscript until page 7, therefore, the six preceding pages are designated one through six, and the eight pages before page one, are designated pages i through viii. Three inscriptions post-date the main body of the work. The first is on the inside front cover of the manuscript. The second inscription starts on page i and continues on page iii. The third inscription is on page ii. Pages iv, v, and vi are blank. The three inscriptions were written by different hands. None of them are that of the author of the main part of the manuscript, which begins on page vii with a frontispiece designating ownership.(See Figure 1)

The frontispiece indicates "Andreas Maior" as the owner of the book. It also contains the date September 24, 1720. Following this is a single page essay in Latin and English that appears to be mostly taken from classical writings.

The body of the work, beginning on page viii, is divided into two main parts. The first part contains several theoretical and technical sections. The second part is clinically oriented and is arranged by

subject in alphabetical order. A complete table of contents is given in Appendix B.

The initial inscriptions, the entire technical and theoretical portion, and the two clinical sections which consider abortion and afterbirth, are presented for analysis here. The technical and theoretical sections were chosen because they reveal the author's ideas about medicine. The two clinical sections were chosen for their legibility and extensive coverage of the topics. These sections comprise about 55 pages of the manuscript.

Material will be presented in the sequence of the manuscript, except that the post-dated inscriptions will be considered after the main body of the work. Because of the variety of subject matter the analysis and commentary are interspersed with the transcription.

The transcription is generally double spaced; specific sections and inserted quotations are single spaced and indented. The transcription is offset from the commentary by a marking figure of: "********************".

The frontispiece (page vii) begins the original text of the manuscript.(See Figure 1) It is in Latin and has been translated below. The Latin from the top of the page is:

****

ANDREAS MAIOR:
HUIUS LIBRI POS=
SSESOR VERUS EST:
SCRIPT: 7BR:is D:XX4:
ANNO: DOM: M:DII:20
HIC LIBER TIT:
VADE MEC:
VOCET:

****

This translates to:[21] "Andrew Major is the real owner of this book. Written September 24th in the year of our Lord 1720. This book's title will be called Vade Mecum." The literal translation for Vade Mecum is "go with me". Webster defines it as: "something carried about by a person for constant use, reference, etc.; specifically, a handbook or manual".[22]

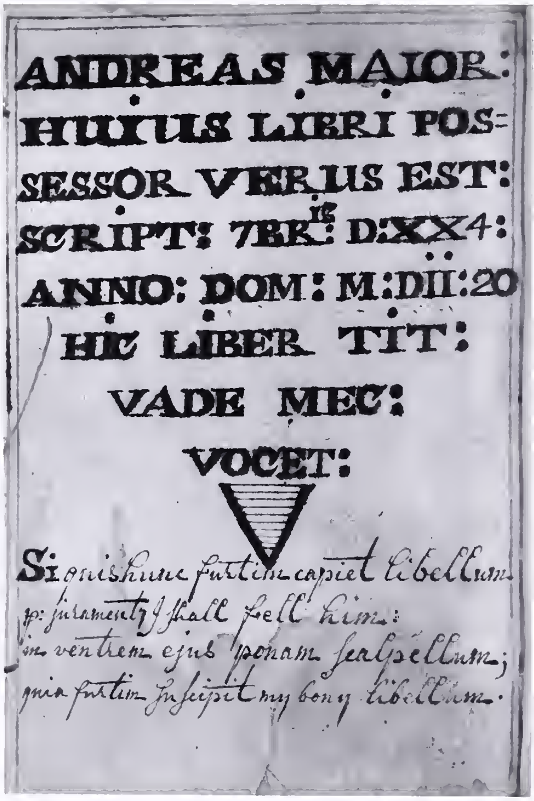
Inquiry into the identity of "Andreas Maior" or Andrew Major has repeatedly proved unsuccessful. In addition to consulting all the standard reference works, many personal inquiries to scholars in this field failed to provide any additional information.[23] The only possible lead is to one John Andree the Elder (1699?-1785), whose name might have been latinized to "Andreas Maior". This possibility will be discussed in the historical analysis section in chapter 3.

This page is noteworthy for the incorrect Latin grammar, and the mixed Roman and Arabic numerals. In addition, there are many abbreviations that are informal, i.e. "7BR:is" for "Septembris", and "MEC:" for "Mecum". Below the statement of ownership is a warning, in verse form, to those who might try to steal this book. Interestingly this is written in mixed Latin and English.

****

Si quishunc furtim capiet libellum
p.[per] juramento I shall fell him:
in ventrem eius ponam scalpellum;
quia furtim suscipit my bony[bonny?] libellum.

****



ANDREAS MAIOR:
HUIUS LIBRI POS=
SESSOR VERUS EST:
SCRIPT: $7BR^{is}$: D:XX4:
ANNO: DOM: M:DII:20
HIC LIBER TIT:
VADE MEC:
VOCET:

Si quis hunc furtim capiet libellum
p: juramentz I ſhall fell him:
in ventrem ejus ponam ſcalpellum;
quia furtim ſuſcipit my bony libellum.

Figure 1: Frontispiece of Mystic Manuscript (page vii).

This translates to:[24]

If anyone secretly takes this little book
By my oath I shall fell him
In his belly I shall put a lancet
Because he secretly appropriated my bonny little book.

It is possible to speculate that the author was Scottish based on the use of the word "bonny". However, it seems more likely that it was used because it works with the rhyme.

Page viii is written in mixed Latin and English sections. The second and third lines of Latin are from Ovid's "Remedia amoris" (Remedies of Love) 91-92.

****

Contra vim mortis o: e: medicame in hortis
Principiis obsta sero medicina paratur;
cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

****

The first line of Latin translates as: "Against the power of death (?) from medicines and plants."[25] The second and third lines appear on the cover page of another Vademecum from this period, but from American medicine, i.e. that of Thomas Palmer written in 1696.[26] They translate as: "Resist the first advance (onset), for medicine comes late/ when evils have gained strength through long delays."[27] Another translation is: "Resist beginnings; too late is the medicine prepared/ when the disease has gained strength by long delays."[28]

The next passage is in English and here again the author has a little rhyming verse, although not as pleasurable as the previous

one.

****

Tobacco that outlandish weed;
both spends the brain and spoils the seed,
both dull the spirits and dim the sight
and robs the woman off her right.

****

The second section in Latin on this page is a single sentence and it roughly translates as "medicine does not know how to cure knotty gout." This corresponds to what follows in English, although the latter is more expansive.

****

Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagr[am].
That physick worketh rare effects, ther's none can doubt;
And yet it knows not how to cure the knotty gout.
When gouty humors into stones convert;
the[y] jer the Doctors and despise their art.

****

The final section of Latin is a ruminative pondering on living life to its fullest. Below the original Latin is the translation.[29]

****

Omnem crede diem, tibi diluxisse supremum;
quantum quisque sui vetitur corporis umbra;
impendens terra majorem non parat urnam
principibus, quam pauperibus rudibusque bubulis.

O mihi praeteritos, referat si Jupiter annos.

****

Believe every day to have shone as the best for you.
How much everyone is denied by the idleness of his body.
The waiting earth makes not ready a larger grave
For princes than for paupers and rude herdsmen.
Oh if Jupiter would bring back to me the years that have passed.

Page one of the manuscript follows. This is a table of cures organized by type and properties. It is titled "Comprehensive Terms Used in Physick".(See Figure 2)

The text is written in two columns, the left in English and the right in Latin. Only the English text will be presented. Explanations of the different type of medicines listed in the table are given below. The substances described here as cures relate both to the herbal tradition of medicine; i.e., roots, herbs, seeds, and flowers, and to the more 'modern' seventeenth century chemical remedies; i.e., ointments, waters, oils and stones. The source for this table has not been located.

Capillary - "Hair-like; small."[30]

Cold - "The sensation produced by the abstraction of caloric from our organs."[31]

Cordial - "A tonic or excitant medicine, judged to be proper for exciting the heart. A warm stomachic."[32]

Emolliant - "Substances which relax and soften parts that are inflamed or too tense."[33]

Hot - opposite of cold.

Opening - "Laxative." [34]

Pleuritik - "Relaxing or appertaining to pleuritis as 'pleuritic pain'."[35]

Stomach(al) - "A medicine that gives tone to the stomach."[36]

****

COMPREHENSIVE TERMS USED IN PHYSICK: (See Figure 2)

a) The five great opening roots viz; parsly, asparagus, fennel, smallage, knee=holly, to these add garlick, onion, liquorice; angelica, gentian.

b)The 5 lesser opening roots; viz grass, eringo, capers, reftharrow, madder, to these you may add elecampane, horseradish, birth=wort polypody, turmerick.

c)The 2 opening roots viz; fennel, parsly, to these you may add succory(?), endive, celandine, squills(?), Master=wort.

[PAGE 2)] d) The 5 emollient herbs are these Marsh=mallows, Mallows, beets, Mercury, violet leaves: to these you may add arrach, coleworts, pellitory, of the wall white=lillies, melilot.

e) The 5 capillary herbs are these maiden=hair, wall=rue, spleen=wort, aplan=wort, harts=tongue, trichomanes: these are greater capillaries which follow rose=mary, lavender, peony, sage, poppy.

[PAGE 3)] f) The 4: cordiall flowers are these; borrage, bugloss, roses, violets, to these add saffron, spick=nard, rosemary clove grilliflowrs, poppy.

g) The 4: greatest hot seeds; are these anise, caraway, cumine, fennel, to these ad cardamonis, grains of paradice, mustard, pepper.

h) The 4: lesser hot seeds bishopsweed, among, parsly, carrots, to these add cubebs, Dill, smallage,

rocket, erysimum.

i) The 4: greater cold seeds: citrul: cucumer gourd, melon, to these add poppy henbane, night=shade, hemlock.

j)The 4: lesser cold seeds; are these: endive surory, lettice, purslane, to these you may add sorrel, Dandelion, plantane, chick=weed.

[PAGE 4)] k)The 4:pleuritik watrs card: b: londies: thistle, scabioy, Dandelion, to these add poppy seohdir, sage rue, celandine.

l) The 3: hot flowers are camomil, melilot, orrice or flowers: &: luce to these add safron, rosmary, lavendor.

m) The 3: stomach oils, wormwood, quinces, mastiek, to these you may add cinnamon, adys: rosar: oil omphacine, myrtles.

n) The 4: hot ointments agrippa, althaee, arrgon: martialum to these add anodynum, lorchinum, amarum, nervinum.

o)The 4: cold ointments album: camphoratum, populeon; refrigeranb Galeni, rosatum; to these you may add night=shade, sumack, Dapompholigos, pomantum.

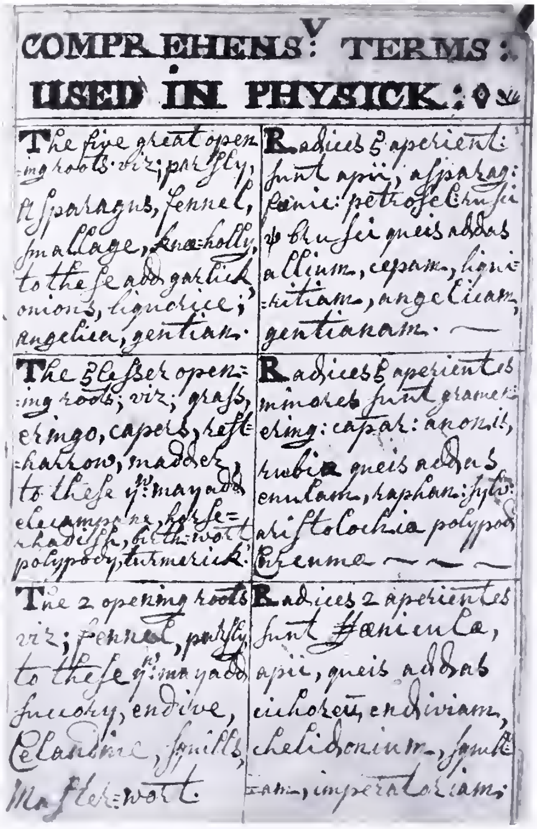
p)The 4: ointments; for the salvatory: basilieon. virideapostolorum, aurey, uguentu album. The first is to digest, the second to cleanse, the third to incarnate, the fourth to skin.

q)The 5: fragments of precious stones granate, jacinith, saphir, sardies, and the emerald. Their names are greater than their ventures simply consider'd without due preparation.

The following inscription is at the end of this table: "Because out of thy mind of God should not pass his image stamped on every grass."

****

The introduction to the theoretical part of the work is on page 6 of the manuscript. It was originally written by Nicholas Culpeper in his



COMPREHENS^{V}: TERMS:
USED IN PHYSICK:

The five great opening roots viz; parſly, aſparagus, fennel, ſmallage, knee-holly, to theſe add garlick, onions, liquorice; angelica, gentian.	Radices 5 aperientes ſunt apii, aſparagi: fœnic: petroſel: ruſci ψ bruſci queis addas allium, cepam, liquiritiam, angelicam, gentianam. —
The 5 leſser opening roots; viz; graſs, eringo, capers, reſt-harrow, madder, to theſe y^{u} may add elecampane, horſe-radiſh, birth-wort polypody, turmerick.	Radices 5 aperientes minores ſunt gramen: ering: capar: anonis, rubia queis addas enulam, raphan: ſylv: ariſtolochia polypod: curcuma — — —
The 2 opening roots viz; fennel, parſly, to theſe y^{u} may add succory, endive, Celandine, ſquills, Maſter-wort.	Radices 2 aperientes ſunt fœnicula, apii, queis addas cichoreum, endiviam, chelidonium, ſcillam, imperatoriam.

Figure 2: Table - "Comprehensive Terms Used in Physick" (First of five pages, page 1 of Mystic Manuscript).

Pharmacopoeia Londinensis.(See Figure 3b-part 1) The words in the manuscript are the same as those used by Culpeper, but the form is different. In Culpeper's printed version many words are capitalized, but in the manuscript they are often written in lower case. In addition, the last two sentences, and the date that Culpeper wrote it are omitted.

****

> Courteous reader; If thou ever intendeth to study physick, and turne neither fool nor knave in that famous science, be well skilled in this astro=physical discourse following, here is enough for thee to whit thy wits upon; sympathy, and antipathy, are the two hinges upon which the whole body of physick turns; thou hast the basis of them here; here is a foundation for thee to erect the whole fabrick upon; if thou beest wise; and if not, thou art unfit to make a physitian.

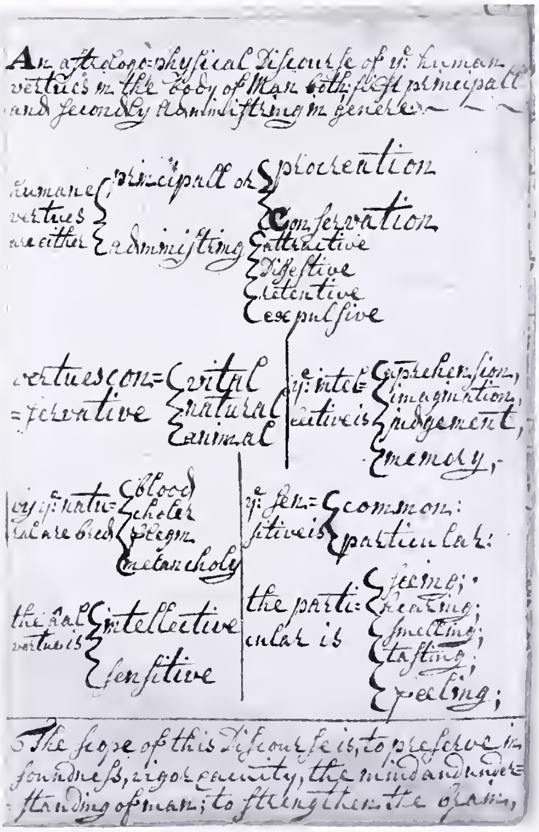
****

The part omitted is as follows:

> I love well, and am willing to help all ingenious Men, though their parts be never so weak: But I hate Pride in whomever I find it. I now bid thee farewell for this time.
>
> Jan. 2, 1653

The deletion of these sentences makes the introduction more powerful. It eliminates the aspect of intimacy, as if Culpeper is talking to the reader, while preserving the importance of this discourse. This personal intensity is common in Culpeper's writings, especially in his prefaces and introductions.[37]

It is on page 7 that the page numbering starts. In Culpeper's original the heading appears as follows except that instead of using the words "first" and "secondly" Culpeper used numbers to designate



An aſtrologo:phyſical Diſcourſe of yͤ humane vertues in the body of Man both firſt principall and ſecondly Adminiſtring in generall

humane vertues are either { principall or { procreation
Conſervation
administing { attractive
Digeſtive
retentive
expulſive

vertues con=ſervative { vital
natural
animal

yͤ intel=lective is { apprehenſion,
imagination,
judgement,
memory,

by yͤ natu=ral are bred { blood
choler
flegm
melancholy

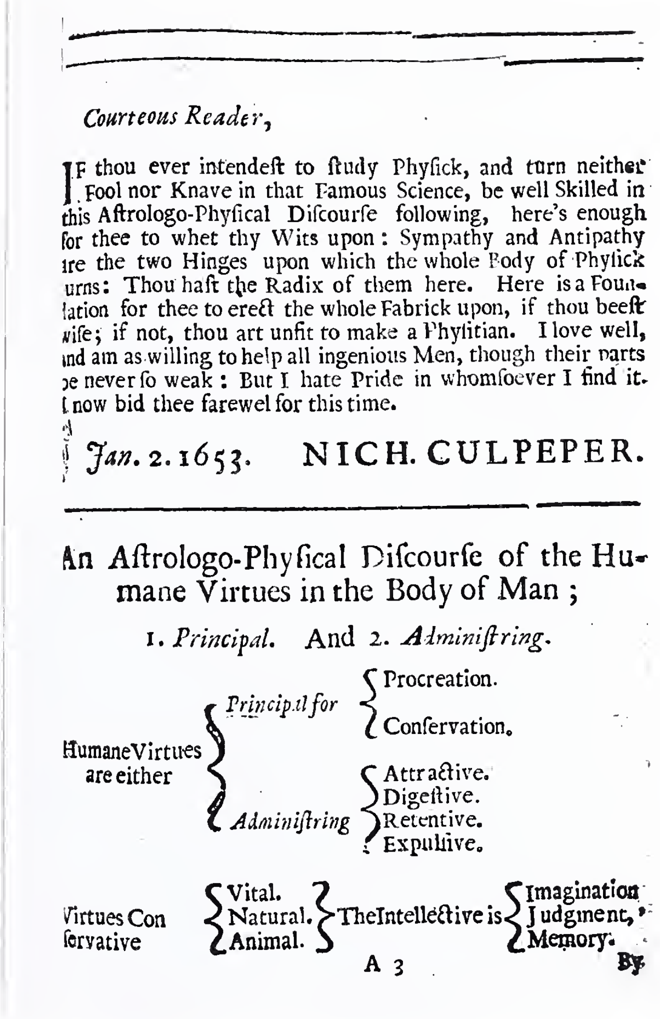
yͤ ſen=ſitive is { common:
particular:

the ãal vertue is { intellective
ſenſitive

the parti=cular is { ſeeing;
hearing;
ſmelling;
taſting;
feeling;

The ſcope of this Diſcourſe is, to preſerve in ſoundneſs, rigor & acuity, the mind and under=ſtanding of man; to ſtrengthen the organs,

Figure 3a: Astrologo:Physical Discourse
(page 7 of Mystic Manuscript).



Courteous Reader,

IF thou ever intendeſt to ſtudy Phyſick, and turn neither Fool nor Knave in that Famous Science, be well Skilled in this Aſtrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe following, here's enough for thee to whet thy Wits upon: Sympathy and Antipathy ire the two Hinges upon which the whole Body of Phyſick urns: Thou haſt the Radix of them here. Here is a Foundation for thee to erect the whole Fabrick upon, if thou beeſt wiſe; if not, thou art unfit to make a Phyſitian. I love well, ind am as willing to help all ingenious Men, though their parts je never ſo weak: But I hate Pride in whomſoever I find it. I now bid thee farewel for this time.

Jan. 2. 1653. **NICH. CULPEPER.**

An Aſtrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe of the Humane Virtues in the Body of Man;

1. *Principal.* And 2. *Adminiſtring.*

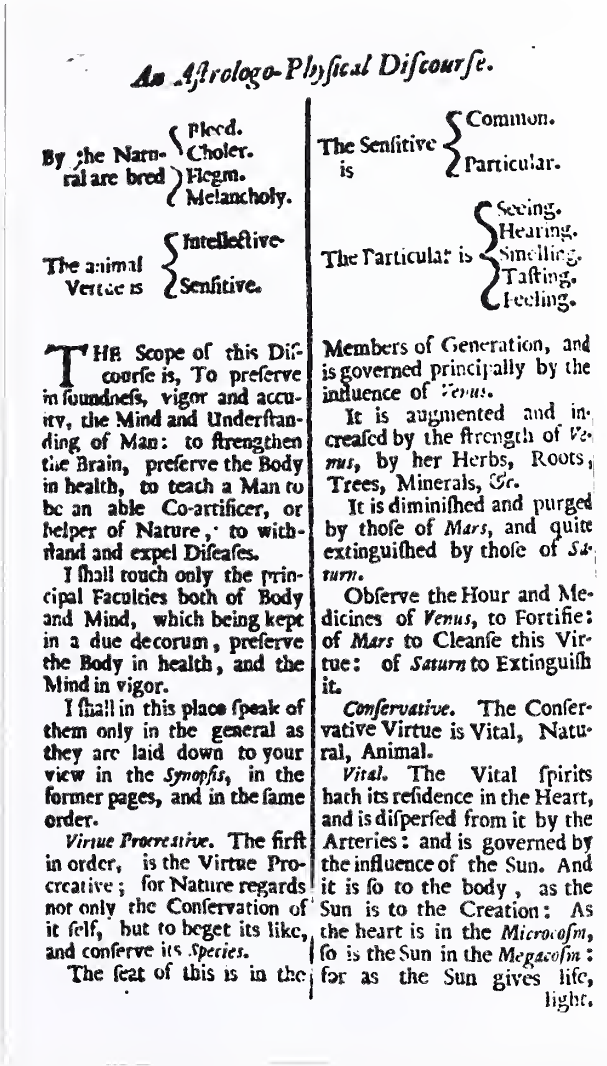
HumaneVirtues are either
- *Principal for*
  - Procreation.
  - Conſervation.
- *Adminiſtring*
  - Attractive.
  - Digeſtive.
  - Retentive.
  - Expulſive.

Virtues Conſervative
- Vital.
- Natural.
- Animal.

The Intellective is
- Imagination
- Judgment,
- Memory.

A 3 By

Figure 3b(part 1): Astrologo:Physical Discourse and Introduction (from Pharmacopoeia Londenesis, by Nicholas Culpeper, 1702 ed.).



An Aſtrologo-Phyſical Diſcourſe.

By the Natural are bred
- Blood.
- Choler.
- Flegm.
- Melancholy.

The animal Vertue is
- Intellective.
- Senſitive.

THE Scope of this Diſcourſe is, To preſerve in ſoundneſs, vigor and accuity, the Mind and Underſtanding of Man: to ſtrengthen the Brain, preſerve the Body in health, to teach a Man to be an able Co-artificer, or helper of Nature, to withſtand and expel Diſeaſes.

I ſhall touch only the principal Faculties both of Body and Mind, which being kept in a due decorum, preſerve the Body in health, and the Mind in vigor.

I ſhall in this place ſpeak of them only in the general as they are laid down to your view in the *Synopſis*, in the former pages, and in the ſame order.

Virtue Procreative. The firſt in order, is the Virtue Procreative; for Nature regards not only the Conſervation of it ſelf, but to beget its like, and conſerve its *Species*.

The ſeat of this is in the

The Senſitive is
- Common.
- Particular.

The Particular is
- Seeing.
- Hearing.
- Smelling.
- Taſting.
- Feeling.

Members of Generation, and is governed principally by the influence of *Venus*.

It is augmented and increaſed by the ſtrength of *Venus*, by her Herbs, Roots, Trees, Minerals, &c.

It is diminiſhed and purged by thoſe of *Mars*, and quite extinguiſhed by thoſe of *Saturn*.

Obſerve the Hour and Medicines of *Venus*, to Fortifie: of *Mars* to Cleanſe this Virtue: of *Saturn* to Extinguiſh it.

Conſervative. The Conſervative Virtue is Vital, Natural, Animal.

Vital. The Vital ſpirits hath its reſidence in the Heart, and is diſperſed from it by the Arteries: and is governed by the influence of the Sun. And it is ſo to the body, as the Sun is to the Creation: As the heart is in the *Microcoſm*, ſo is the Sun in the *Megacoſm*: for as the Sun gives life,

light.

Figure 3b(part 2):

the two areas to be covered. Before the discourse a summary table is given: (See Figure 3a)

****

An astrologo:physical Discourse of ye human vertues in the
body of Man both: first principall and secondly Administring in genre.

```
          (principall or     (procreation
humane    (                  (conservation
vertues   (
are either(                  (attractive
          (administring      (digestive
                             (retentive
                             (expulsive
                                |
vertues con=(vital              |  ye intel=   (aprehension,
=servative  (natural            |  lective is  (imagination
            (animal             |              (judgement
                                |              (memory.
                        |
by ye natu= (blood      |  ye sen=     (common:
ral are bred(choler     |  sitive is   (particular:
            (plegm      |              (
            (melancholy |
                        |
the animal(intellective |  the parti=  (seeing;
vertue is (sensitive    |  cular is    (hearing;
          (             |              (smelling;
                        |              (tasting;
                        |              (feeling;
```

****

This is how the table appears in the Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, with the exception of the intellectual virtue "apprehension."(See Figure 3b) The term "apprehension" appears in Culpeper's table in the third edition (1651) where "Imagination to aprehend a thing" is cited. It seems likely that given the closeness with which the table was copied that there was indeed a printing in which this particular conformation was used, although such an edition is not included in the holdings of the Yale Medical Historical Library. The rest of the

essay follows the printed original almost verbatim. There are certain sections that were deleted. The sections that were deleted are presented as single spaced and indented to differentiate them from the transcription. These deletions could be due either to errors when copying, or to deliberate censorship of the material. As before, the manuscript version contains the same words, but often the capitalization and some spelling differ.

****

"The scope of this discourse is, to preserve in soundness, vigor and acuity, the mind and understanding of man; to strengthen the brain, [PAGE] 8) preserve the body in health, to teach a man to be an able co-artifier, or helper of nature, to withstand and expel diseases. I shall touch only the principall faculties, both of body and mind, which being kept in a due decorum, preserve the body in health and the mind in vigor. I shall in this place speak of them only in the generall, as they are laid down to your view in the synopsis, in the former pages, and in the same order. Vertue procreative;"

> The first in order, is the Virtue Procreative; for nature regards not only the Conservation of its self, but to beget its like, and conserve its Species.

"the seat of this is in the members of generation, and in governed principally by the influence of venus is augmented, and increased by the strength of venus, by her herbs, roots, trees, minerals, &:c: It is diminished; and purged by these of Mars, and quite extinguished by these of saturn."

> Observed the Hour and Medicines of Venus, to Fortifie: of Mars to Cleanse this Virtue: of Saturn to Extinguish it.

"Conservative; the conservative vertue is vital, natural, and animal. Vital; the vital spirit hath its residence, in the heart, and is dispersed"

"[PAGE] 9) from it by the arteries and it governed by the influence of the sun; and it is so to the body, as the sun is to the creation: as the heart is in the microcosm, so is the sun in the megacosm, for as the sun gives life, light, and motion to the creation, so doth the heart to the body; therefore it is called, sol comparis, as the sun is called, cor celli, because the operations are so alike. Inimical, and distructive to the vertue are saturn and mars; the herbs and plants, of sol wonderfully fortifie it."

****

The analogy drawn here between the sun and the heart derives itself directly from the Paracelsian micrososm-macrocosm analogy, but has been changed in name to the microcosm and the megacosm. Paracelsus, as a basis for his chemical theories of medicine promoted this analogy, based on the the idea that all things of nature are working along the same guide-lines. It was believed, that by studying the observable phenomena of nature, the truths about life and disease could be learned since they are controlled by unobservable phenomena.

> Paracelsian physicians -- leaning on this microcosm-macrocosm analogy, and eager to reap the benefits for mankind -- felt that mankind could and should seek out in the plant and mineral kingdoms those objects which correspond with the proper celestial bodies.[38]

It is only a short step from here to the basis for the belief in

astrology, which argues that since all things in nature work alike, they all are somehow interrelated, and thus influence one another. The practical extension of this theory can reach to two levels. The first level is the acceptance of the idea that the planets are interrelated with man and nature through the rules of physick that they follow. The second level is the extension of the astrological ideas to include the notion that the planets and stars directly affect the lives of men, and the use of this to base treatment upon.

> For the Paracelsian a direct intervention in man's affairs by divinity was seen to take place through the rays of the stars and especially by the "breath of the Lord." In either case our earthly atmosphere represented a medium through which the heavenly influences passed.[39]

The first extension of the astrological idea can be used to form a schema for a better understanding of life and disease. That is, certain bodily factors of illness and health can be attributed to certain planets, and also to specific plants and compounds. Thus, the appropriate remedy could be used to treat the specific affliction based upon the bodily factor that was affected. The application of this theory has been interpreted two ways. Paracelsus, deriving his ideas from Germanic folk lore, believed that like can cure like. That is, only a remedy of the same nature as the affliction will work properly. Galen, on the other hand, deriving his ideas from the Greek tradition, believed that opposites cure. His was a balance theory of illness and health. If one bodily humor is too abundant, it can be negated or balanced by a medicine that will promote qualities of an opposite nature.[40]

I will try to create an analogy that better explains these ideas. The Galenic basis will be used for convenience. If in trying to "treat" a lemon cake mix, which is too bitter one would not "apply" flour which only has the attribute of thick, but not sweet and thus would do no good. Also, the addition of lemon would only add more bitter and not "cure" the "affliction". Thus, a substance with the attribute opposite to the one causing the affliction must be "administered" to "cure" the situation. That is, sugar, which is sweet, must be used to negate or balance the bitter.

Now we shall return to the transcription:

****

"Natural; the natural faculty, or vertue resides resides[sic] in the liver, and is generally governed by jupiter, quasi juvans pater [a kind of helping father]; its office is to nourish the body, and is dispersed through the body by the veins. From it are bred 4 particular humors; blood, choler, flegm, melancholy. Blood is made of meat perfectly concocted, in quality hot and moist, governed by jupiter; it is by a third concoction transmuted into flesh; the superfluity of it into seed; and its receptacle in the veins, by which it is dispersed throughout the whole body. Choler is made of meat more then perfectly concocted; it is the spume or froth of blood, clarifies all the humors, heats the body, nourisheth the apprehension, as blood doth the judge=ment."

"[PAGE] 10) It is in quality hot and dry; fortifieth the attractive faculty, as blood the digestive; moves man to activity and

valour; its receptacle is the gall, and its under the influence of mars. Flegm is made of meat not perfectly digested; it so fortifies the vertue expulsive, as makes the body slippery; fit for ejection; fortifies the brain by its consimilitude with it; that it spoils apprehension by it antipathy to it. It qualifies choler cools and moistens the heart, there=by sustaining it, and the whole body, from the firey effects; which continual motion would produce: its receptacle is the lungs, and is governed by venus, some say by the moon, perhaps by them both it may be governed; it is cold and moist in quality. Melancholy, is the sediment of blood; cold and dry in quality, fortifying the retentive faculty, and memory; makes them sober, solid amd staid, fitt for study, stairs the unbridled toys and fooleries of lustfull thoughts, and reduceth your house to the centre. It is like a grave councellor to the whole body, its receptacle is in the spleen, and it is governed by saturn. Of all the humors, blood is the chief, all the rest are but superfluities of blood; yet are the necessary superfluities, for without any of them man cannot live. Namely, choler is the fiery superfluity; and flegm the watery; melancholy the earthy."

****

This section on humors is Galenic. "The humoral theory holds, essentially, that disease states depend on changes in the fluid components of the body."[41] The humors here are not the four traditional ones from Hippocrates, i.e. blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile.

> Galen made an amalgam of them [Hippocratic writings] all; the doctrine of qualities, the doctrine of the four humors, the doctrine of the pneuma, the doctrine of the physis. The most important innovation since Hippocrates had been the growth of a precise knowledge of the bodily organs. This must be be built into a system. Continually Galen was endeavouring to erect such a composite system, all through his life, and in each of his writings from a different standpoint. He never succeeded in completing the unique system he desiderated. In not a single one of his writings did he formulate any system consistent throughout. Yet his books are so full of systemic or systematized statements that it was easy during the Middle Ages to compound elements from the Galenic writings into a Galenic system which was predominately founded upon the doctrine of the four humors and the doctrine of the four qualities.[42]

It is this digested version of Galenic theory that permeates the manuscript. The idea of the "qualities" has been retained, with the hot-cold, and moist-dry pairs. Each humor has one from each pair, and the four humors are thus assigned all four possible sets of the qualities. This arrangement is part of the systematization done by Galen.

It is also of note here, that it was believed that the liver transformed meat into blood. This also comes directly from Galen, since the core of Galenist pathology believes that disease is a result of a disturbance in the humors, often due to an improper formation of the humore by the liver with an improper diet. Also it should be noted that specific factors are attributed to specific parts of the body, i.e. Natural faculty is in the liver, and the Animal is in the brain. This again is another example of Galenical attempts at systematization.

****

"[PAGE] 11) Animal; the third principal; vertue remains, which is

animal; its residence is in the brain, and mercury is the general significator of it; Ptolomy held the moon sign: the animal vertue; and I am of an opinion, both mercury and the moon dispose it: and my reason is first because both of them in nativities either fortifie, or impedite it. 2 ill directions to either, or from either, affect it, as good ones help it. Indeed the moon rules the bulk of it, as also the sensitive part of it, mercury the rational part of it; and that is the reason, if in nativity, the moon be stronger than mercury; sense many times over come reason, but if mercury be stronger, and the moon weak, reason will be Master ordinarily in despite of sense. It is divided into intellective; and sensitive. First intellective, the intellective resides in the brain, within the Pia=mater and is governed gererally by mercury. It is divided into imagination, judgement, and memory. Imagination is seated in the fore part of the brain; it is hot and dry in quality, quick, active, alwaies working; it recieves vapors from the heart, and coins them into thoughts; it never sleeps, but always is working, both when the man, is sleeping, and waking; only when judgement is awake, it regulates the imagination, which runs at randome, when judgement is a sleep, and forms any thought according to the nature of the vapor sent"

"[PAGE] 12) up to it, mercury is out of question the disposer of it. A man may easily perceive his judgement a sleep, before him=self many times, and then he shall perceive his thoughts run at random. Judgement always sleeps when man do; imagination never sleeps, memory sometimes sleeps when men sleep, and sometimes it doth not: so when

the memory is awake, and the man a sleep, the memory remembers what aprehension coins; and that is a dream, the thoughts would have been the same if memory had not been awake to remember it. These thoughts are commonly, I mean in sleep when they are purely natural, framed according to the nature of the humor, called complexion, which is predominate in the body; and if the humor be peccant it is always so. So that is one of the surest rules to know a man's own complexion, by his dreams;[43] I mean a man void of distractions, or deep studies, (this most assuredly skews mercury to dispose of the imagination, as also because it is mutable, applying it self to any object, as mercurys nature is to doe) for then the imagination will follow its old bend; for if a man be bent upon a bussiness, his apprehension will work as much when he is a sleep, and find out as many truths by study, as when the man is awake; and perhaps more too, because then it is not impedited by ocular objects."

> As to the notion of the predominate Complexion by the Dreams, I have read some most excellent verses, made by Thomas May Esq; which I shall here insert; by which, if the Complexion be not altered much in quantity nor quality, you may know by your most usual Dreams not only your own Complexion, but also what every complexionis Prone and inclinable to: (I suppose and really believe. That many Men and Women may know strange truth by their Dreams, if their Nativities be accordingly either by nature, or perhaps if the business be rectified by Art; of which I may happen to write something hereafter.) They are these: (See Appendix C for Verses)

"And thus much for imagination which is governed [PAGE] 13) by mercury, and fortified by his influence and is also strong or weake in man, according as mercury is strong or weake in the nativity. Judgement is seated in the midst of the brain, to skew that it ought

to bear rule over all the other faculties; it is the judge of the little world to aprove of what is good, and reject what is bad; It is the seat of reason, and the guide of actions; so that all failings are committed through its infirmity, it not rightly judgeing between a real, and an apparent good. It is hot and moist in quality, and under the influence of jupiter. Memory is seated in the hinder cell of the brain, it is the great register to the litle world; and its office is to record things either done and past or to be done. It is in quality cold and dry, and melancholick, and there=fore generally melancholick men have the best memories and most tenacious every way. It is under the dominion of saturn, and is fortified by his influence; but purged by the luminaries. 2. by of the sensitive; the 2nd: part of the animal vertue is sensitive and it is divided into 2 parts, common, and particular. Common sense is an imaginary term, and that which: gives vertue to all the particular senses, and knits or unites them together within the pia=mater, it is regulated by mercury,(perhaps this is one reason why men are so fickle headed) and its office is to preserve a harmony among the senses."

"[PAGE] 14) Particular senses are 5; seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling: these senses are united in one in the brain, by the common sense, but are operatively distinguished into the several seats, and places of residence. The sight resides in the eyes, and particularly in the cristalline humor, it is in quality cold and moist, and is governed by luminaries; they who have them weak in the genesis, have always weake sights, if one of them be so, the weakness

posseth but one eye. The hearing resides in the ears; is in quality cold and dry, melancholy, and under the dominion of saturn. The smelling resides in the nose, in in quality hot and dry, cholerick, and that is the reason cholerick creatures have so good smells, as dogs, it is under the influence of mars. The taste resides in the palet which is placed at the root of the tongue, on purpose to discern what food is congruous for the stomach; and what not; as the meseraick veins are placed to discern what nourishment is proper for the liver to convert into blood; in some very few men, and but a few, and in these few, but in a very few meats, these two tasters agree not, and that is the reason some men covet meats that make the sick, viz, the taste craves them, and the meseraick veins reject them: in quality hot and moist, and is ruled by jupiter."

"[PAGE] 15) The feeling is deputed to no particular organ, but is spread abroad over the whole body; it is of all qualities, hot, cold, dry, and moist,and is the index of all tangible things; for if it were only hot alone, it could not feel a quality contrary viz, cold, and so might be spoken of other qualities. It is under the dominion of venus, some say mercury; a thousand to one but it is under mercury."

****

This section on the senses is revealing in how the process of sensation is organized along the lines of the Galenic qualities. Here the four senses of seeing, hearing, tasting, and smelling are each assigned one of the four possible pairs of quality sets. Feeling is left over as the one that encompasses them all, as it should be since

it is spread out over the entire body.

****

"The 4 administering vertues are attractive, digestive, retentive, expulsive. The attractive vertue is hot, and dry; hot by quality, nature or prinicpal; and that appears, because the fountain of all heat is attractive, viz, the sun; dry by quality passive, or an effect of its heat, its office is to remain in the body, and call for what nature wants. It is under the influence of the sun, say authors, and not under mars, because he is of a corrupting nature, (experience is worth more than tradition ten thousand times told over) yet if we cast an important eye upon experience, we shall find that Martial men call for meat none of the least, and for drink the most of all other men, although they corrupt many times the body by it; and therefore I see no reason why Mars being of the same quality with the sun, should not have a share in the dominion."

> It is vain to object, That this influence of mars is evil, and therefore he should have no dominion over this Virtue; for then,
>
> 1. By the same rule, he whould have no dominion at all in the Body of Man.
>
> 2. All the Virtues in man are naturally Evil, and corrupted by Adam's fall.
>
> This Attractive Virtue ought to be fortified when the Moon is in fiery signs, viz. Aries and Sagitary, but not in Leo, for the sign is so violent, that no Physick ought to be given when the Moon is there: (and why not Leo, seeing that is the most Attractive sign of all? And that's the reason such as have it, ascend in their Genesis, are such greedy eaters) If you cannot stay till the Moon be in one of them, let one of them ascend when you administer the Medicine.

****

It is particularly significant that this section, and the three

subsequent ones, all pertaining to the practical use of astrology in patient treatment, were selectively omitted from the Mystic Seaport manuscript. As mentioned previously, these sections relate to the second level to which the astrological ideas have an application to medicine. The four administering virtues have divided between them the twelve signs of the zodiac, so that each is "fortified" by every fourth one in order. The author has accepted the use of astrology in the context of using it to better understand the nature of disease, and build a schema from which treatment can be started. Yet, he has refused to include the sections that relate to the practical treatment of illness. This indicates a movement away from medieval thinking where astrology was a means for determining all manners of treatment, as well as forecasting prognosis.

Salmon, like Culpeper, still viewed astrology as being used in this context. He states his position on astrology in his "Synopsis Medicinae."

> Astrological Medicine is that which teacheth Astrally, or from the signification of the celestial and starry influences, how to know, Judge of, and cure all Diseases and Infirmities, as may any ways sense, affect, afflict, or infect the Bodies of humane kind.[44]

C. H. Talbot explains the significance of astrology in medieval medicine very well.

> Viewed against the background of popular medicine, of charmed potions, amulets magical incantations and the like, this astrological medicine presented an aspect of precise and co-ordinated knowledge based on an accurate, determined and predictable order of the heavens. It was 'scientific' in the sense that it was based on principles elaborated during classical times and handed down almost unchanged in the later centuries. These principles laid

> down that man was a microcosm composed, like the macrocosm of which he was part, of four primary elements (earth, air, fire and water), with four qualities (heat, cold, moistness, and dryness). His characteristic nature and individual temperment (sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, or melancholic) arose from the predominance in his make-up of one of these four constituent and vital fluids. Indeed, his entire physical constitution corresponded to a sympathetic relationship between himself and the celestial spheres, the zodiac (or exterior belt) governing his outward anatomy, the planets (or inner circles) dominating his inner organs. Of all the planets, the moon, which was closest to the centre of this anthropocentric scheme, exercised the greatest influence on terrestial fluids (that is the tides) and consequently was the cause of the increase or decrease in man of the humoral fluids. The pathology, which issued from these general principles, regarded illness primarily in terms of the disturbance of man's humoral balance.[45]

This is the position in medieval medicine, and the doctrines of Galen and Paracelsus can be clearly seen in it. The position in the manuscript had not changed much even though it is from centuries later. The reasons for this will be discussed in the historical-critical section later on. Indeed even in the mid-seventeenth century astrology was still common. "In the age in which Culpeper lived, it was not an unusual thing for a regular qualified physician to combine astrology with his practice of healing of the sick."[46] Chance, writing in 1931, notes that after the early 18th century, "...astrology passed into the hands of quacks and pseudo-scientists, though the belief continued well into the 19th century."[47] However, Chance could not fully appreciate that although the "learned men" of the day stopped studying astrology in the 18th century, it remains a popular belief in the present time. It is only the schema within which it is placed that has changed. In medieval times it was correlated with Galenical thought, and in the

modern scientific times "astrology" is associated with the study of circadian cycles and other physiological rhythms.

****

"The digestive vertue is hot and moist, and is the principall of them all, the other like hand:maids attend it. The attractive vertue draws that which it should digest, and serves continually to feed and supply it. The retentive vertue retains the sustance with it till it be perfectly digested."

"[PAGE] 16) the expulsive vertue casteth out and expulseth what is superfluous by digestion. It is under the influence of jupiter, and fortified by his herbs and plants; &:c:"

> In Fortifying it, let your Moon be in Gemini, Aquarius, or the first half of Libra; or if Matters be come to that extremity, that you cannot stay till that time, let one of them ascend, but both of them together would do better, always provided that the Moon be not in the ascendant. I cannot believe the Moon afflicts the Ascendant so much as they talk of, if she be well dignified, and in a sign she delights in.

"The retentive vertue; is in quality cold and dry; cold, because the nature of cold is to compress, witness the ice, dry because the nature of dryness is to keep and hold what is compressed. Its under the influence of saturn and that is the reason why usually saturnine men are so covetous and tenacious."

> In fortifying it, make use of the Herbs and Plants, &c. of Saturn, and let the Moon be in Taurus, or Virgo; Capricorn is not so good say Authors, (I can give not reason for that neither) let not Saturn nor his ill aspect molest the Ascendant.

"The expulsive faculty is cold and moist; cold because that supreseth the superfluities; moist, because that: makes the body

slipry, and fit for ejection, and dispoleth it to it. It is under the dominion of luna with whom you may joyn venus, because she is of the same nature."

> Also in whatsoever is before written of the nature of the Planets, take notice. That fixed Stars of the same Nature, work the same effects.
>
> In fortifying this, (which ought to be done in all Purgations) let the Moon be in Cancer, Scorpio, or Pisces, or let one of these signs ascend.

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What follows in the Pharmacopoeia Londinensis is a section of "Directions, &c." It is not found in the manuscript. In it Culpeper talks about certain words that need to be explained. He only describes procedures for preparing medicines, such as "Filtration", and this is very different from the glossary section in pages 21-26 of the manuscript which are included in Appendix A.

At the bottom of page 16 in the manuscript there is a short passage about the non-naturals.

****

"There are 6 non:naturals whereby the humors of the body are daily depraved; viz; too much food taken, especially fat and tough; hot and rainy seasons, too much sleep, rest and sloth=fullness of body, extream cares, and loosness."

****

The non-naturals refer here to one of the three original sub-divisions of theoretical medicine that Galen had propagated down from the Greeks The other two are the naturals and the contra-naturals.[48] The non-naturals were also called hygiene. They

include: "1) Air, 2) food or drink, 3) motion and rest, 4) sleep and watch, 5) retention and evacuation, and 6) the pertubations of the mind."[49] As has been pointed out regarding the non-naturals and disease, the non-naturals "...functioned as 'necessary', that is, inescapable, causes of disease."[50]

The author's handwriting, his use of abbreviations, and the fading of the text have made translation of the Latin on page 17 a very unsure process. The transcription of what it appears to read is presented.

****

"[PAGE] 17) Cum ergo corpora oia in salem, sulphur et mercurium resolvi observamus, iisdiem ipsa carpora constarenecesse est. At rudibus absonum videbitur sulphur, salem e mercurium communiter sumpta, in rebus constituere; here tria analogiee ita apellantur, at pro sulphur:intelligatur omne id quod flagrat, atque igni ameeum est; pro sale omne id quod in quod in agna solvitur (unde tam saeehearum, piam omne salis genus amarum, aeidam, ansterum, &:c: magna solubile, sal apellatur) pro mercurio ag: omnis; sen omne liquidum oleo imperminsubile, et ineendio mimime aptum. Agra vita, et alii liquores flammam sueipientes, sulphuri volatili permixti sunt. [PAGE] 18) Chirurgi vulgo purnlenta materia quatuor species proponere solent; pus viz: verum, saniem, sen jehorem, cum tennius est justo et sanquinnolentum magis, sordes cum valde limosum est, et terax et virus cum corruptum valde fatidum e varii coloris."

****

From rough inspection it can be seen that the subject of this page relates to the three principles of Paracelsus, i.e. salt(salem), sulphur, and mercury(mercurium). "What burns is 'sulphur'; what gives off smoke is 'mercury'; what remains is 'salt'".[51] Paracelsus added the three principles to the four elements to try to achieve a unified chemical schema of nature. Unfortunately, not only did he not achieve this unification, but his confused writings detracted from whatever inherent soundness his theories truly had.

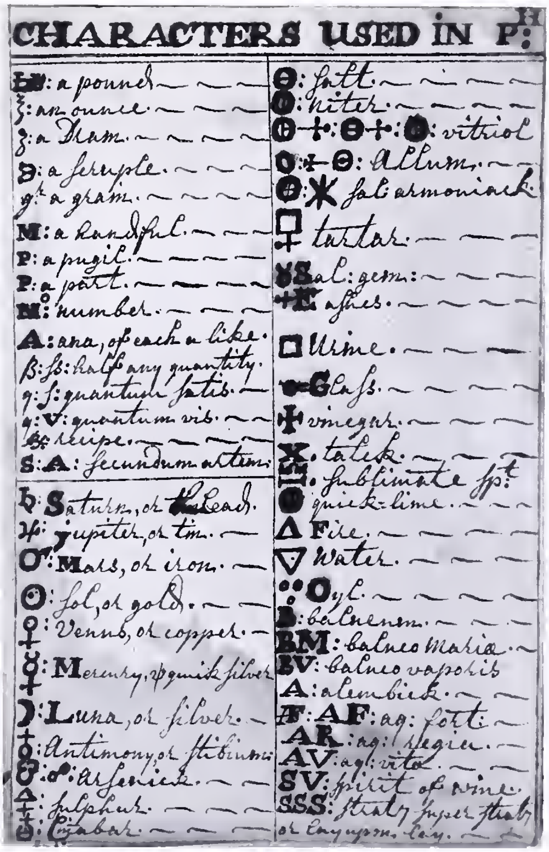
After this Latin section there is a short passage. It may be a poem or a joke, but it is unclear.

****

"It's reported by naturilists, that there is such an antipathy, between an adder, and an ash=tree(?), that if an adder be compressed connel(?) with ash=tree(?) leaves, she would sooner run through the fire; then through the leaves."

****

On pages 19 and 20 of the manuscript is a table of symbols and characters. It appears in William Salmon's works titled New London Dispensatory and Synopsis Medicinae. It is unknown from which work this table was copied. It is more likely that it was taken from the New London Dispensatory since this title is part of the title of a dictionary found later in the manuscript. This table contains symbols for chemical, alchemical, and astronomical signs, and weights and measures. This material is pictured from the manuscript in Figure 4a, and from Salmon's New London Dispensatory in Figure 4b.



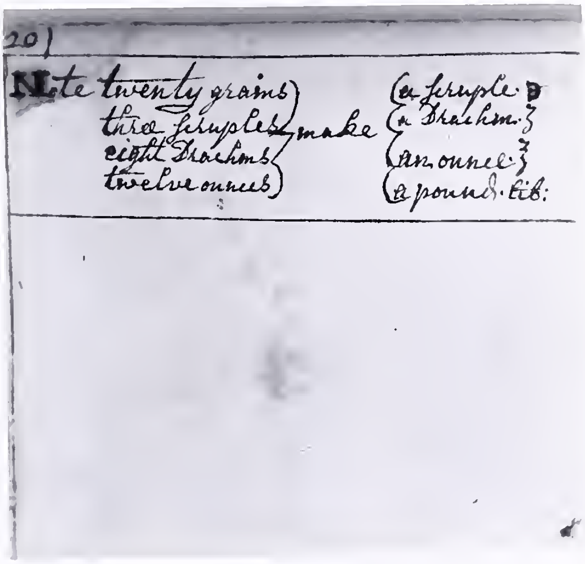
CHARACTERS USED IN P:H

℔: a pound
℥: an ounce
ʒ: a Dram
℈: a ſcruple
gr: a gram
M: a handful
P: a pugil
P: a part
N°: number
A: ana, of each a like
ß: ſs: half any quantity
q: ſ: quantum ſatis
q: V: quantum vis
℞: recipe
S: A: ſecundum artem

♄: Saturn, or [illegible] Lead
♃: jupiter, or tin
♂: Mars, or iron
☉: ſol, or gold
♀: Venus, or copper
☿: Mercury, or quick ſilver
☽: Luna, or ſilver
♁: Antimony, or ſtibium
🜺: ♂: Arſenick
🜍: ſulphur
🜓: Cinabar

⊖: ſalt
🜕: niter
🜖: 🜗: 🜘: vitriol
🜄: Allum
⊕: ✱ ſal: armoniack
🜿 tartar
Sal: gem:
🝗 aſhes
☐ Urine
Glaſs
🜊 vinegar
talck
ſublimate ſp^t
🝁 quick-lime
△ Fire
▽ Water
Oyl
B: balneum
BM: balneo Mariæ
BV: balneo vaporis
A: alembick
AF: AF: aq: forti:
AR: aq: regia
AV: aq: vitæ
SV: ſpirit of wine
SSS: ſtratū ſuper ſtratū or Lay upon Lay

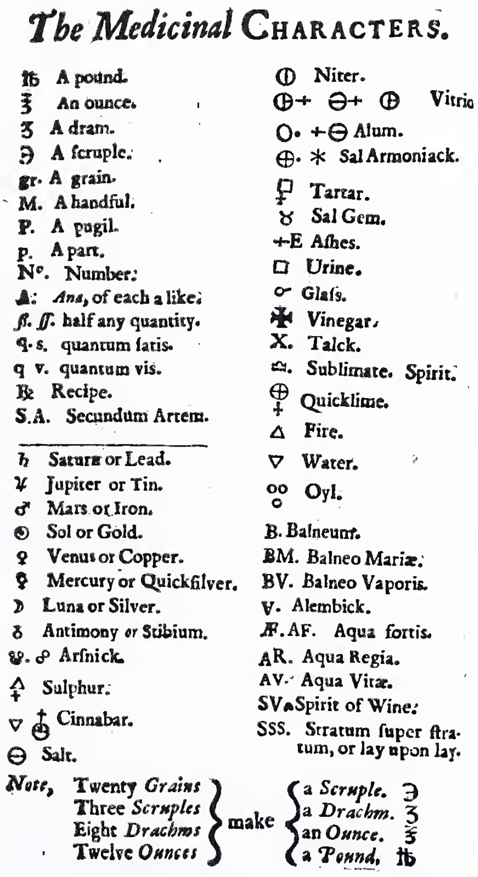
Figure 4a(part 1): Table of Symbols, (page 19 of Mystic Manuscript).



20)

Note twenty grains make a ſcruple ℈
three ſcruples make a Drachm ʒ
eight Drachms make an ounce ℥
twelve ounces make a pound lib:

Figure 4a(part 2):



The Medicinal CHARACTERS.

℔	A pound.
℥	An ounce.
ʒ	A dram.
℈	A ſcruple.
gr.	A grain.
M.	A handful.
P.	A pugil.
p.	A part.
Nº.	Number.
Ā:	*Ana*, of each a like.
ß. ſſ.	half any quantity.
q. s.	quantum ſatis.
q v.	quantum vis.
℞	Recipe.
S.A.	Secundum Artem.
♄	Saturn or Lead.
♃	Jupiter or Tin.
♂	Mars or Iron.
☉	Sol or Gold.
♀	Venus or Copper.
☿	Mercury or Quickſilver.
☽	Luna or Silver.
♁	Antimony *or* Stibium.
🜺. ☍	Arſnick.
🜍	Sulphur.
▽ 🜓	Cinnabar.
⊖	Salt.
⦶	Niter.
⦶+ ⊖+ ⦶	Vitrio
O. +⊖	Alum.
⊕. ✳	Sal Armoniack.
🜿	Tartar.
♉	Sal Gem.
+E	Aſhes.
□	Urine.
○-	Glaſs.
✠	Vinegar.
X.	Talck.
♎.	Sublimate. Spirit.
🝁	Quicklime.
△	Fire.
▽	Water.
🝆	Oyl.
B.	Balneum.
BM.	Balneo Mariæ.
BV.	Balneo Vaporis.
V.	Alembick.
Æ. AF.	Aqua fortis.
AR.	Aqua Regia.
AV.	Aqua Vitæ.
SV.	Spirit of Wine.
SSS.	Stratum ſuper ſtratum, or lay upon lay.

Note,	Twenty *Grains*	make	a *Scruple.*	℈
	Three *Scruples*		a *Drachm.*	ʒ
	Eight *Drachms*		an *Ounce.*	℥
	Twelve *Ounces*		a *Pound*,	℔

Figure 4b: Table of Symbols
(from New London Dispensatory, by William Salmon, 1696 ed.).

Although this is the only portion of the manuscript so far attributed to William Salmon, it is important that anything from his work was included since he was on the fringes of accepted medical practice.

Following this table in the manuscript is a glossary which explains the "hard terms used in the new London dispensatory". Nothing like this has been found to date.[52] William Salmon's New London Dispensatory includes no such glossary, although he did include a dictionary of anatomic terms in his Synopsis Medicinae, as well as writing his cookbook-like Family Dictionary. However, neither of these texts resemble the manuscript's glossary.

Lazarus Riverius included in his The Practice of Physick a dictionary described as: "A Physical Dictionary, Expounding such words, as being terms of Art, or otherwise derived form the Greek or Latin, are dark to the English Reader. This dictionary is of use in the Reading of all other Books of this Nature, in this English Tongue."[53] This is much more extensive than the glossary included in the manuscript. Clearly the inclusion of dictionaries in larger works was common. The original source for the manuscript's glossary is unknown. It seems unlikely that the author compiled it himself. The text of the glossary is included in Appendix A.

Following the glossary, on page 27, begins the main body of the work which is less theoretical than the opening sections and certainly more practical. The early pages are headed with the words "Observations and histories of famous and rare cures," a phrase taken

directly from a section of The Practice of Physick by Riverius as translated into English by Culpeper. The section of the manuscript presented here are the first and third topics in the manuscript, i.e., "Abortion and Miscarriage" and "Afterbirth, etc." In Appendix B the other topics are listed in a table of contents which was derived from the manuscript's subject headings.

The original source for most of this material has been traced to works by Lazirus Riverius. As each topic area is covered, the original source, when known, will be indicated. Certain parts on specific treatments were changed from the original English to Latin in the manuscript. In the transcription they are given in the English as they appear in the printed original. The fact that the author made this "backward" translation may at first seem unusual, since the author was clearly more comfortable in English. However, apothecaries were known to write their prescriptions in Latin as a means to keep their recipes secret. In addition, even down to today, the Latin abbreviations are used simply as a shorthand for writing pharmaceutical prescriptions. Which of these reasons for the latinization is correct is unknown, but the latter reason seems more likely considering the original material was printed in English.

As in the discourse by Culpeper, whenever there has been an omission from the original, it has been included in this transcription and noted.

This section comes from chapter 17, page 512 of book XV from Riverius' The Practice of Physick.

****

"[PAGE] 27) [Heading = off abortion or miscarriage] Observations and histories of famous and rare cures; and first of abortion or miscarriage. Abortion or miscariage is the bringing forth of an imperfect or unique child and consequently a child dead in the womb is not counted an abortion, till it be excluded: so that whether alive or dead child be brought forth, not being ripe, nor having attained to the just term of growth which it ought to have had in the womb, it is to be termed an abortion, or miscarried child. The causes of abortion are some internal, some external. The internal may be reduced to 4 heads, viz; to the humors, to the child, to the womb, and to the mother's diseases. The humors may cause abortion while they offend in quantity or quality: they offend in quantity either by way of excess or defect. Humors offending by way of excess are seen in a pletories or over=full constitution of body; for blood being more plentifull than is requisite to nourish the infant in the womb, flows into the veins of the womb, and is excluded by way of the monthly courses, and brings away the defect of humor fitting to nourish, springs from such causes which are able to draw the nourishment from the child, as fasting, whether voluntary or forced; as when women with child loath all kind of meat, or vomit it up again; or thin diet in acute diseases, imoderate bleeding by the nose, hamaorhodes, womb or by imoderate phlebotomy. Where=upon Hipocrates in aphor:34:sect:5: if a woman with child go very much to stool, it is to be feared that she will miscarry: here=unto may be referred extream leaness of the whole

body, wherein there is not blood enough to nourish the infant: of which Hipocrates in aphor:44:sect:5: speakes thus: women with child being very lean, not by nature, but by accident, as famin, long=sickness, &:c: miscarry, until they get their flesh again."

"[PAGE] 28) [Heading = Observations and histories] In respect of the chid, abortion may hapen, if it be over great, so that it canot by reason of its bulk, be contained in the womb; hence it falls often out that little women miscarry expecially if they be marrieid to men bigger than ordinary whose children grow very great, and find not in the womb place large enough to contain them, till they come to their perfect growth. Which made Hipocrates say in his book of superfoetation any woman conceive frequently, and do duly and at a certain time & or period of time miscarry, as in her second, third, or fourth month, or later: the narrowness of her womb is in fault, which is not able to contain the child as it grows great: also plurality of children may cause abortion, as when two or three or more are contained in the womb at one time; for then ye womb overloaden excludes the children before the fit time: which is the cause that women often miscarry of twins. Also the dead child is to be reckoned among the causes of abortion of abortion[sic-double]: for as soon as the child is dead; nature doth forth=with set her=self to cast it forth. Abortion hapens in respect to the womb it self, it if benot largness and capacity enough, sufficiently to widen it self according as the child growes, as was shewed above out of Hipocrates: as also if there by any tinge preteruaturall in the womb, as an inflamation, a

scirrhous tumor, an impostume, and very many diseases besides: and finally if the wombe be over=moist, and slack, that is canot contain the child so well as it ought to doe. In respect of the mothers diseases, abortion comes two ways; first of all, when as her diseases are comunicated to the child, whereby it is killed, or so weakened that is canot receive due nourishment"

"[PAGE] 29) [Heading = of abortion or miscarrriage] nor growth; such as are continual and intermitting feavers, the whores=pocks and such like: secondly when the said diseases of the mother do cause great evacuations or great comotions of the body, as large bleeding, from what part of the body soever, fluxes of the belly, grivous swoonings, falling=sickness, vomitting, and tenesmus (that is perpetial going to the stool and voiding nothing but a little slime) which above all other diseases is wont to cause abortion, because by that frequent and almost continual endeavour of goeing to stool, which perpetually attends this disease, the muscles of the belly are perpetually contracted, and do more compress the womb than the straight gutt upon which the womb rests; which continual compresion or squeesing of the womb, doth at last causes abortion. External causes which further abortion, do some of you kill the child, others draw away its nourishment, and others dissolve those bands where=with the child is fastened to the womb. The child is killed by grivous comotions of mind, as anger sadnesss, terror, &:c: meats earnestly longed for and not obtained, strong purging medicamentts, such things as provoke the courses, such things as drive forth the child; such

things as are reckoned by a secret property to destroy the child in the womb; abominable smells, especially the stinck of a candle ill put out. the child is deprived of it nourishment, by the mothers being famished, and by imoderate loss of her blood, especially when the child is big: as Hipocrates teaches in the aphor:60:sect:5: The bands which fasten the child to the womb are lossed by vehemnet excercise, dancing, running, rideing, or jolting in a coach or cart; carrying of a heavy weight, or lifting it from the ground, a violent fall and squelch, a blow upon the belly that mauls the child, vehement motion of the belly by coughing,"

"[PAGE] 30) [Heading = Observations and histories off famous and rare cures] vomiting, loosness, sneezing, convulsious, crying out, imoderate or over wanton veneral embraces. and in a word, vhement motion of the arms, by drawing some=what violently to a body, by turning a wheel, or doing some such work, may exceedingly further abortions or misarriage. The signs of a present abortion are manifest of themselves such as go before abortion, and prognosticate the same are these; an unusual heaviness of the loyns and hips, a loathness to stir, apetite gone, shivering and shaking coming by fits, pain of the head especially about the roots of the eyes; a straitening of the sides, and of the belly above the navel; the flagging or falling, and extenuation of the days, which made Hypocrates to say in aphor:37:sect:5: if the dugs of women with child do suddenly grow small, that woman will miscarry: for the externuation of a womens dugs in such a case doth signifie want of blood in those veins which are

comon to the womb, and to the dugs, by me and of which defect the child is in dager to miscarry. But if abortion shall be caused by some external efficient, causing violent agitation of the child in the womb, and a bursting of the vessels, with a pain rarified in those parts; the spirits and blood run speedily to the genital parts of which the dugs being destitiute grow smaller that they were. Furthermore, plenty of milk dropping from the dugs, doth argue a weak child and consequently portenes abotion; according to Hipocrates in aphor:52:sect:5: But if frequent pains, and almost continual do torment the veins and loyns reaching toward the share as far as os sacrum,"

"[PAGE] 31) [Heading = off abortion of miscarriage] with a certain endeavor of goeing out of the womb it is a certain sign of a woman that will shortly miscarry: for those parts do signifie that the membranes and ligaments where=with the child is fastened to the womb; are stretched and torn in sunder. And if so be that pure blood or such as is wheyish or water flowing from the womb, do follow the foresaid paines and endeavors off coming out; it shews that abortion is hard at had, and the vessels and membranes of the womb are broken, and the mouth of the womb open. At the same time the situation of posture of the child is changed; for where=as it lay high and possessed the middle of the womans belly like a sugar=loaf bearing out; it is now gathered round like a foot=ball, and rolled down towards the water gate also often times there follow grievous syptoms as shivering, tremblings, palpatations, of the heart, swooning, and

abundant bleeding. Hereunto may be added what Hipocrates teacheth us in the second book or popular sicknesses, text 17:T if after violent external causes, such as are a blow, a fall, and such like, vehement pain, and pertubation arise in a woman with child, she suddenly (or at most the same day) miscarries, but if the external causes were weak, the abortion may be differred till the third day, which bein once over, there is no longer danger of aborting, because such wounds &:c: hurts are wont to grow well again upon the third or at most the fourth day or very much to be mitagated and asswaged; which upon the child is agaiin confirmed in the womb and retained. Which precept of great moment in the practice of physick, that women to: child being hurt by some external accident should keep their beed for 3:days or longer, and use such remedies as prevent abortion."

"[PAGE] 32) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] The pronostiks of abortion be diverse, after this maner: women are more endangered by abortion, than by due and timely child birth, because it is more violent, and unseasonable; for as in ripe fruit, the stalks are loosened from the boughs, and the fruit falls of it self; from a natural birth, the vessels and ligaments where with the child is tied to the womb, are loosned and untied as it were of their own accord which in case of abortion must needs be violently broken assunder. Very many women become barren by their miscarriages, by reason of those exceeding renderings and tearings which do wholly overthrow the dispositions of the womb. Much bleeding accompanied with fainting, raving, and convulsions is wont to cause death; and

Aretaeus testifies he never saw any escape, who in the time of their abortion or afterwards had convulsion fits. Inflamation of the womb caused by abortion is for the most part deadly; for blood flowing to the womb in great quantity, is not purged out, but putrifies there=in, and regurgitates or flows back into the upper parts; whence arise burning feavers, panting of the heart, heart=burning, and other symptomes enumerated before. Abortion is more dangerous in a woman that never bore a child before, because being unacustomed to pains and haveing those passages more strait she is longer and more vehemently tormented. Women very lean or very fat, are more endangered by miscarriage; the former because of their weak=ness; the latter, because of the narrowness of the passages by which the child must come forth. Abortion is more dangerous in the sixth, seventh, and eigth months, because child being the greater"

"[PAGE] 33) [Heading = off abortion or miscarriage] is excluded with the more pain and difficulty. Women which have a more loose and moist womb than ordinary, do miscarry comonly without danger, especially in the first month; because those parts in such women do easily give away, whence their pain and trouble is the less. Hipocrates in the second book of popular sicknesses, affirms, that to miscarrie of a male conception of 3: score days old, helps a women whose courses are stopped, by stopping of cousres he understands only their imminution, when women are not sufficiently, or conveniently purged at their monthly seasons; for by such an abortion or miscarriage as afore=said, those stoped passages are opened, and the

blood is drawn towards the womb, which came thither but flowed in former times. An ordinary women seen to have taken notice of the truth of this saying of Hipocrates: who touching an abortion of a few month are wont to say by way of a proverb, a miscarrying women is half with child again. The cure of abortion consists in preservation, for that which is past canot be helped. But all the symptoms which follow abortion are the same which accompany women duly brought to bed. The preservation from abortion hath 2 prinicipall points or heads: the one concerns the woman before she is with child: the other when she is with child. Before the women is with child; all evil dispositions of body which are wont to cause abortion must be removed: as fullness of blood, badness of humors, and peculiar diseses of the womb, viz. distempers, swellings, ulcers, and such like fullness(?) of blood opens the veins of the womb,"

"[PAGE] 34) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] or strangles the infant while its in the womb. This if it be a pure and simple plenitude, may be cured by blood=letting; such as shall answer the quantity of blood superabounding. But badness of humors, is either chollerick and sharp, so as to open the orifices of the veins, or by provoking nature , to stir up the expulsive faculty, where=by the child comes to be expelled with those evil humors; or by reason of plenty of excrements heaped together in the first region and distending the belly it suffocates the child; or it vitiates the blood in the whole habit of the body, rendering it unfit for to nourish the child; or it fills the vessels of ye womb which retain the child; full

of slime and snot. This badness of humors may like=wise be holpen by blood=letting, but it must be in a lesser quantity, seeing the principall scope of the cures is by frequent purgations, to take away the superflurous excxrements of the body: and in the spaces between purge and purge, such things must be used as helps the distemper of the bowels, unmitigate the sharpness of humors if there be any, or thicken the said humors in case they be too thin. Or if flegmatick humors are too ripe they must be diseased by sweat-drivers, piss-drivers and other remedies: Howbeit we must diligently observe that what:ever ill humor abounds issues are wonder=ful profitalbe to prevent abortion: of which Zacutus Lusitanus gives a special note in these words: by most happy experiment I have observed that frequent abortion,"

"[PAGE] 35) [Heading = off abortion or miscarriage] caused by corrupted humors which flow from the whole body to the womb, and by their evil disposition or abundance do kill the child, is here=by as by a most present help prevented. Many women did miscarry upon this verry account, among which some haveing often times brought forth a child of 7 months or 4 months growth, but taken and putrified, could no other means freed from so great a calamity, save by issues made in their arms and thighs, which were alwaies at the beginning of the fluxion; by which means they want out their rimes and brought forth children healthy and not defiled with any infeciton. The peculiar diseases of the womb, as over great moisture swellings, ulcers, and such like must be cured ;by their proper remidies described in the

chapters which treat of them. In women with child if the same causes be present as in other women the difficulty is yet greater, because [big-bellied women cannot so easily bear(deleted words)] all kind of remedies yet left being destitiute of all help they should remain in extreme danger of miscarriage and death, some kind of remedies are to be used. In case there:fore the patient be too full of blood she must have a vein opened though with child especiallly in the fifth months; and that the second and third time, if need be. Alwaies remembering that there never be too much blood taken away at a time of which kind of bleeding we have discouraged more at large in the fore:goeing cure"

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This refers back to the previous chapter, i.e. #16, where the following "cure" is written.

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":viz; if blood may so be taken away as that the infant shall not want its nourishment there will be no danger of abortion thereby."

****

The text continues where it had left off in the middle of Chapter 17.

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"[PAGE] 36) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] And when there is an abundance of some very bad humors, gentle purgations must be reiterated especially in the midle months of a womens being with child. And if a moist, rheumatick, snotty, or windy distemper do annoy the patient, we may some times proceed to a

sudorifick diet, at least gentle one, in the stronger sort of woman. Mean while, in the whole course of being with child astingent and strengthening medicaments are to be used such as have a [vertue to hinder Abortion. Many of which have been described(words missing)] in our chapter of imoderate flux of courses; where=unto these following may profitably be added."

****

What follows is the first of the sections that appear in English in "The Practice of Physic", but are written in Latin abreviations in the manuscript. Below is given the English version. All such sections will be offset from the transcription by indentation and single spacing to indicate they were taken from the published text's English.

****

> Take of Kermes berries and Tormentil Roots, of each three drams: mastich one dram and an half. Make all into a Pouder, of which give the Patient half a dram at certain distances of time, or as much as may be taken up upon the point of a Knife. Or, Take of red Coral two drams: kermes berries, Date Stones, of each one dram: shaving of Ivory half a dram: Pearls not bored through, ascruple. Make of al a Pouder, Or let her swallow every day certain grains of Mastich in the morning.

"Our ordinary women doe frequently use plantane=seed which they take in the morning about the quantity of half a dram, with wine and water, or in a egg, or broth, or by it self, almost every day, the whole time of their being with child, and that not in vain. To the same purpose very effectual electuaries(?) are compounded recording to these following examples."

> Take Conserve of Roses two ounces: Citron peels candied six drams: Myrobalns candied, pulp of Dates, of each half an ounce: Coral prepared, Pearls prepared, and Shaving of Ivory, of each a dram. With Syrup of Quinces, make al into an Opiate,of which let the Patient take often the quantity of Chestnut.

"[PAGE] 37) [Heading = off abortion and misccariage] If a liquid shall be more desired a decoction of tormentill roots, sweetened with conserv: rosae may profitably be give. The following lozenges are very good for they strengthen, and do by little and little free the body from excrements, through sometimes they do not visibly purge."

> Take Mace, in three sorts of Sanders, Rhubarb, Senna, Corals, Pearls, of each a Scruple: Sugar dissolved in Rose Water, four ounces. Make all into Lozenges, weighing three drams a-piece. Let her take one twice a week by it self, or dissolved in a little Broth

"Outwardly, ointments, and plaisters, are to be aplied, made after this manner."

> Take Ship-pitch half an ounce: Fankincense an ounce: mastich hald an ounce: Dragons Blood and red Roses, of each two drams. Make all into a cerate or Plaister. Or, Take Oyl of Myrtles, and Mastich, of each an ounce: red Sanders and yellow, Hypocistis, Acacia, of each half an ounce: Spodium, red Roses, or each two drams: Bole Armoniack, Terra Sigillata, Shaving of Ivory, of each two Scruples: Turpentine washed in Plantane Water an ounce: Wax as much as shall suffice. Make all into a Cerate or Plaister spread it upon a Cloth, and apply it to the Reins.

"[PAGE] 38) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] Plasters are composed of the mass of Emplastrum pro matice and Emplastrum contra Ruttum, to be applyed to the region of the share, and of the loyns. Or after this maner following:"

> Take of the Mass or Rowl of Emplastrium pro matrice three ounces; Bistort Roots, Acacin, Hypostis, Pmegranate peels, of each half an ounce: ladanum six drams. Moisten

> soften whtm with Juyce of Luinces, and make a Rowl of Plaister for the use aforesaid.

"Concerning plasters it is to be observed that they must not be worn long together, but taken off ever and anon, otherwise, if they stick too long upon the back, they do so heat the kidneys, that the poor women are sometimes troubled with sharpness of urine, or do sometimes piss sand, stones, yea and blood it self. Neither must we omit such things which are accounted by a secret property of their nature to retain child in the womb; as an eagle=stone worn about the neck, a load=stone aplied to the navel, corals, jaspers, smaragds, bones found in the hearts of stags, and such like, worn under the arm=pits or hanged about the neck."

"[PAGE] 39) [Heading = Off abortion or miscarriage] Zacutus Lusitanus in obs:152: of the second book of wonderfull cures comends a girdle made of the hide of a sea horse; and if that be not to be had he saith a wolfs=skin may profitably be used in stead thereof. And that the success of these medicaments may be hapy[sic], the patient must be enjoyned to rest and keep herself as quiet as possibly she can, both in her body and mind; also to abstain from genial embracements, which do vehemently towze and disquiet the womb. For while the womb opens it self to comprehend the mans sperm, with which it is exceedingly delighted, it drives forwards the lately conceived child, not yet throughly fastened in the womb. But if not with standing the medicines afore said by reason of the vehemncy of the cause, whether it be internal or external, the patient be ready to miscarry, we must aply our selve to do the best we can, with these

following remedies. And in the first place, so soon as pains and throws shall be perceived in the lower part of the patients belly, towards her share,"

"[PAGE] 40) [Heading = Obsevations and histories of famous and rare cures] in her loyns, and about the os sacrum, we must seek to allay and stop them, both by things given in, and outwardly aplied, according to the variety of causes. For if abortion be provoked by crudities and winds, (which is most usual when it begins from an internal cause) a powder must be given compounded of aromat: rosat:" (abreviation for 'Aromaticum Rosatum') "and coriander seeds: yea, we may give of the aq: imperial:" (abreviaton for 'Aqua Imperialis') "if the quantity of wind and flegm be very great. At the same time let carmmative, or fart=forcing medicaments be aplied below to the patients navel: such are bags of anis=seed, fanel=seed, fanngreek=seed, flowers of chamomel: elder, rosemary, and stachados mingled together; of a rose cake fired in a pan with rich canary, and spinkled with powder of nut=meg and coriander, or the caul of a wether newly killed, or his lungs laid on warm if with these things, or means; the pains cease not, let a clyster be cast in, made of wine and oyl, wherein zii: of phylouiy rom:" (abreviation for 'two drams of Philonium Romanium') "may be dissolve or narcoticks may be given inwardly in a smaller dose, to allay the violence of humors and winds, as we are wont"

"[PAGE] 41) [Heading = off abortion and miscarriage] to do in pains of the chollick. But if by reason of contumarious pains that

not be asswaged or of the violence of some external cause, blood begin to come away, revealing medicines are to be aplied, to with draw the course of the blood from the womb: such are rubbings of the uper[sic] parts and painfull bindings; also cuping glasses fastened to the shoulder=blades, under the dugs, and under the short ribs on both sides; yea and if the woman be full of blood, it will not be amiss to take some blood from her."

****

The following was omitted from the manuscript:

> both when she begins to void blood, and expecially before it begins to come; and the blood must be taken away at several times, a little at once.

****

"And if all this will not suffice, but the flux of blood continues, we must proceed to astringent and thickening diet and medicaments; and so the pouders and electuaries formerly described; may be administered. Also juyce of plantane new drawn, and syrup of poppies to the quantity of an ounce, with powder of bolarmoniac: or sang: Braion:" (abreviation for Bolc-Armoniack or Dragons-blood) Also outwardly may be used fomentations binding and strengthening made of of pomegranate peels, cypress=nuts, acorn=cups, balaustians grape=stones, and such like things, boyled in smiths water, and red wine: or a little bag=full of red rose=leaves and balastians, may be boyled and aplied hot to the patients belly: hereunto may be added the fore=said plaisters, and cure=cloaths: or for to cause the more astriction, make a cataplasm of astringent powders with turpentine,

and the whites of eggs, which must be spread upon tow, or course flux, and aplied to the navel, and the reins warm: the tow which shall be aplied to the"

****

(deleted section of text 'navel, must be moistened with Wine; that which is to be applied to the')

****

"kidneys, must be moistened with vinegar; that which is to be medicaments are accounted for secrets, and it is bleeved they will certainly hold the child in the womb, if they be used before it be loosened from the wombs vessels. verte folium"

****

On page 42 of the manuscript the author deviates from his original style by giving the precriptions in both the English and the Latin. The first one is given in the order Latin then English, while the second is given with the English first.

****

"[PAGE] 42) [Heading = Observation and histories of famous and rare cures) The same in english; is as followeth." (This editiorial note is obviously not in the printed version) "Take 2 leaves of gold: spodium zi:" (zi = one dram) "the cocks treading of 3: eggs that are not addle. Mix all very well, till the gold be broken into small atomes. Afterwards dissolve them in a draught of white wine, and give it to drink 3 mornings together." This is the end of the first prescription and then a single sentences of direction preceeds the

second. "At the same time let the following cataplasm be laid on. Take male frankincense powdered two ounces; five whites of eggs: let them be stirred about together over hot coals. Alwaies stirring them that they may not clodder together: add turpentine to make them stick, then spread it upon parcels of tow, which lay upon her navel as hot as she can posibly endure them, twice a day morning and evening, on three daies afore=said. The same in latin; is as followeth." (As before this editorial note is not found in the printed version)

****

This ends the transcription from chapter 17, book XV from The Practice of Physick. In the mauscript the text continues on with a section take from The Four Books by Lazarus Riverius. The section copied into the manuscript is observation #53 from book I, page 34, and is titled "Of prevention Abortion". The 1658 edition of The Four Books is bound with the The Practice of Physick in a volume in the Yale Historical Library.

****

"Lazarus Riverius his observations; and they are these following. [This lead in sentence is not in the original.] [PAGE] 43) [Heading = off abortion and miscarriage] The wife of John Vienles, a citizen of Montpelier, miscarried three times one after another, at several seasons of her being with child and now being two months gone with child, she had pains about her navel and loyns, which threatened miscarriage. Another physitian had apointed her two plasters to be aplied to her navel and loyns, made of the roul of plasters for

fractures and dislocations, where=upon she was better for some days, but afterwards the same pains returned. I being called, and observing that the woman was young and sunguine, I caused her to be let blood, by which means in a few hours she was freed from her pains and feare of miscarriage. Her blood was full of wheyish moisture: how=beit for preventions sake, I ordered her to take a dram of pouder of rhubarbe in broth, once a week for a month together: also I willed her to anoint her belly and loyns with an astringent ointment, the day before she purged, and to use an astringent electury the day after, but she did not make use of them. Those symptoms came at the very time when she was wont to have her monthly pugations when she was not with child: Afterwards, when she was in her third month, the same symptoms returned and she was presently freed from blood=letting likewise, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eight month, the same symptoms periodically returning, she was again let blood, and they ceased; the last blood=letting was performed eight days before the begining of the 9th month, with the like good success viz; on the 5 of january 1632: and at the end of the 9th month she brought forth a boy, well flesht and lively, but somewhat pale."

****

This is the end observation #53 from The Four Books. The original source for the following section has not been located, but it seems from context that it came from Zacutus Lusitanus (Abraham) (1572-1642). This conjecture is based on the subject of a cere-cloth made from the skin of seahorse, which had been attributed to Zacutus

previously in the manuscript. Since the original has not been located, and their transcription would be grossly innacurate, the latinized prescriptions have not been presented, only their location and length in the manuscript are indicated.

****

"[PAGE] 44) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] My liuses cere=cloth to prevent Abortion; (5 lines of latin Rx) I am certain, that there is this quality or property in the skin of a sea=horse, to hinder abotion or prevent miscarriage, and retain the child in the womb: for if a girdle be made thereof and if the woman be girt therewith, next her skin, all the time of her going with child, whe will not miscarry: and this thing I have found always to be a most excellent remedy in this case. when many other things have been tryed in vain: if you cannot get it you may use a girdle made of a wolfs skin, which I have also found by assured experience, to be admirable of symptomes after abortion."

****

The next section again comes from The Four Books by Riverius. this section is observation #61 from Book I, page 38 and is titled "Of Symptomes after Abortion". In The Four Books the "gentlewoman" refered to in the manuscript is identified as "The renowned wife of Me. Desgardines on the twenty eighth of March 1632."

****

"A gentle=woman suffered abortion by which she voided her secondines in the first place with much blood, whence extream

weakeness brought her in danger of her life: the flux of blood being stopped, the day after she voided her child, now it was of four months; and she seemed afterwards to recover, and was indifferently purged: howbeit, and extream carrion=like stink was perceived in the purgations: on the seventh day she was taken with an intense fever, and voided that same placenta uteri," (In the original this is refered to as 'fleshy womb-cake which is the womb-liver'.) "very stinking, and full of black blood; where upon she grew afterwards well, by little and little. The same hapened in another gentle=woman" (In the original she is identified as 'Madam de Laroche who the 15 April 1632') "who having been 4: months great, and suffering [PAGE] 45) [Heading = off abortions or miscarriage] abortion, did void her child with the membranes and therefore was judged clear: yet she afterwards fell into a violent feaver, with frequent shiverings and faintings; after which she voided most stinking purgations with clotters of blood and bits of flesh: on the 4th day she voided the afore=said hepar uteri" ('womb-cake' in original) "whole, which was extream stinking; whereupon she began to be better, and by little and little recovered. These two stories teach us that the purgations of the womb, when they stink like a dead carcase, do for the most part signifie, that there is some part of the secondines abiding yet in the womb."

****

This ends observation #61 from The Four Books. What follows is a series of prescriptions whose origin remains unknown. They are written in the Latin abreviation form and are presented as

transcribed. As previously, the Latin abreviation sections have not been transcribed, but their location and length have been indicated.

****

"An ordinary mean to prevent abortion. The third, fourth, or fifth month take 6: or 8: ounces of blood in the arm: using of perfect corall braslets about the craig and arms, but better tyed about the thighs. (3.25 lines Latin Rx) the syrup of corral is good to give once or twice a day. (7 lines Latin Rx)"

"[PAGE] 46) [Heading = Observation and histories of famous and rare cures] (2 lines more Latin Rx) take about the biggness of a large haslenut of the electuary; with the following powder each morning,washing it down with a glass of the the tansyand sage ale. (3 ines Latin Rx) take the quantity that is here prescribed; at one time, with the bigness of a large hasle nut of the electuary as above said already. (3 lines Latin Rx) to be given every night agein to bed, and every morning, fasting in a glass of alicant alias canary, or tent; if a woman take this for some weeks together I dare warrent she shall go out her time. (6 lines Latin Rx) Take venice turpentine, spread it on black brown paper, the breadth and length of an hand; and lay it to the small of her back; and let her drink a caudle made of muscadine, putting into it the hesks of about 20: almonds dryed and finely powdered."

"[PAGE] 47) [Heading = off abortion and miscarriage] Doctor Bells receipt to madam m:¢c Collum for to prevent abortion, is as followeth. (12 lines of Latin Rx)(follwed by 7 more lines of Latin

Rx) Take about the quantity of a large chesnut of the Electuary, thrice a day; at the physical houres, viz; mornings, noon, and night; taking five or six spoonfulls of the julap after it, to wash it downe."

"[PAGE] 48) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] Doctor Peacocks astringent cordiall for madam Leislie; is as followeth. (17 lines Latin Rx) to be taken in a glass of alicant, alia canary."

****

This ends the section of the manuscript that is titled "Abortions and Miscarriage" The next section that will be presented is "Afterbirth, etc." which is on page 51-54 of the manuscript. This section begins in the middle of page 51, with a subject heading of "after=birth retained". This was originally from Book II of The Four Books, and is observation #103 on page 60.

****

"[PAGE] 51) [Heading = off the after=birth, &:c:] The honorable wife of Mz: Grasset, Councellor in the court exchequor, in the begining of 8br" (this is an abreviation for a October) "in the year 1635: having miscarried of a 3: months conception, and brought forth a very well shaped child; had her after=birth retained: where=upon she was long troubled with the whites, and perceived a kind of stink in her mouth which vanished after some daies: she voided certain pieces of a membranous substance, but very few and small: where=upon the women vouching that she had voided her after=birth, by peece=meales, I

was sitll of a contrary opinion: by little and little she recovered her former health, the white flux still continuing: howbeit, after 2: months and an half, she was taken with an imoderate flux of her courses, with which her after=birth being dried was voided piece after piece: which is very well worthy of observation that the after=birth could be so"

"[PAGE] 52) [Heading = Observations and histories of famous and rare cures] long retained in the womb without greivous detriment to the patient."

****

This ends observation #103. What follows is observation #375 from page 274, Book III of The Four Books. Riverius' collection was done in chronological order, and that is why material from similar subjects are randomly placed. The observaiton below refers to the date given in observation #374; i.e., "January 1643".

****

"At the same time, madam de Russia, being aged thirty=five years, of a sanguine complexion, haveing brought forth a child with much pain and labour, had her after=birth remaining within her womb: we could not feel any pulse that she had, her face was like a dead bodies face, so that all seemed past hope. When I came to her, a certain Chyrurgeon had given order, that some of her hair should be cut of and burnt, and the ashes given her in a cup of wine: which being done, her after=birth came very hapily away: howbeit, her child=bed purgations were stoped, which cast her into a feaver. The day after I caused her

to be bleed eight ounces in her right foot (for her pulse was strong and full) and the day following, because she was costive, I ordered that she should take this following clyster."

****

This is given in the Latin abbreviated form in the manuscript and is presented below in the English from the original.

****

> Take mallows, violet Leaves, Pellitory, and Mercury leaves, of each one handfull. Flowers of Chamemel and Melilot, of each one pugil. Annis seed, and Fennel seed, of each half and ounce. Boyl all in aht eBroath of a Calves Head to a pound. I the strained Liquor dissolve Syrup of Violets, and Red sugar, each one ounce, and give it for a clyster.

"[PAGE] 53) [Heading = off the After=birth] When the clyster was come away, she had a vein opened in her left leg, and bleed zvii: [abreviation for 7 ounces] by this means her feaver was abated, her sleep returned, which formerly she was wholly deprived of, and by little and little, without any more ado by way of physick, she grew well."

****

The rest of the section of the afterbirth is one and one-half pages of abreviated prescriptions of unknown origin.

While the preceding section has been lengthy it is not nearly as theoretically complex as Culpeper's discourses. As stated previously, Riverius was an esteemed man of medicine in the 17th century. He was a firm believer in the established ways. He expressed this through his repeated referals to Galenic theory and references to works by

Hippocrates. In addition, he cites Zacutus Lusitanus, who is a rather obscure figure. However, he must have been fairly well known in his time, for Riverius tells us about him in his dictionary section of The Practice of Physcik.

> Zacutus Lusitanus: A famous Physitian; A Jew that practiced at Amsterdam In Holland. He has wrote divers excellent Treatises of Physick, sutable to the Principles of Hippocrates and Galen.

Thus, Riverius recognizes his adherence to teachings of Hippocrates and Galen. However, he did accept the newer remedies as indicated by those included in his works. Many of these are a mixture of herbal and chemical remedies. It seems likely that the author followed this course as outlined by the Royal College and their official Pharmacopoeia. From the first edition in 1618 there was included a section on the newer chemical methods. It was later editions of this work that were translated into English by Culpeper and Salmon.

This concludes the part of the original text that was transcribed. There are three inscriptions that post-date the original text. They are located in the front part of the manuscript, and they are given below. They are very intriguing and may help to understand the history of the manuscript.

On the inside of the cover is the first of the three inscriptions (See Figure 5) The name "Thomas Evans" is written at the top of the page, with "Jenkins way" below it. Still farther down is a faded line that appears to read as "3 land" with something following that is too faded to read. Over these last two lines is written something at an

angle which is undecipherable. On the bottom two thirds of the inside of the cover is a stamp that reads:

COLONIAL DRUG CO.
A. P. KARSH
N. E. Cor. 15th & Race Sts.
RI 6-6832 Phila. 2, PA.

Below this in pencil has also been addded the Mystic Library's call number for the manuscript: "Misc. Vol. 192/MC73.170".

Investigation into the Colonial Drug Company has revealed very little information. A letter sent to the address in the stamp returned due to: "Addressee Unknown". In addition, John Parascandola of the History of Medicine Division of the National Library of Medicine at the N.I.H. was "unable to locate any information of A.P. Karsh, or the Colonial Drug Company..."[54]

The essay that follows starts on page i and continues on page iii. It is written with deliberate and fine penmanship. The letters that begin each sentence are embellished. It is noteworthy that the topic of libations interested medically related men in the past as much as it seems to today.

****

[PAGE i] "The wines that are most esteemed amongst us are the claret wine, Burgundy wine, comon white wine, ssrontinack, hermitage, and champaign, these come from France. The following from Spain as Canary sack, malaga sack, Sherry sack, Alicant wine, and Portoport. From the Island of Crete is brought red Muscadine. From Germany Rhenish wine. Wine is wholsomer than beer, mead or Cyder, and indeed than any other liquor."

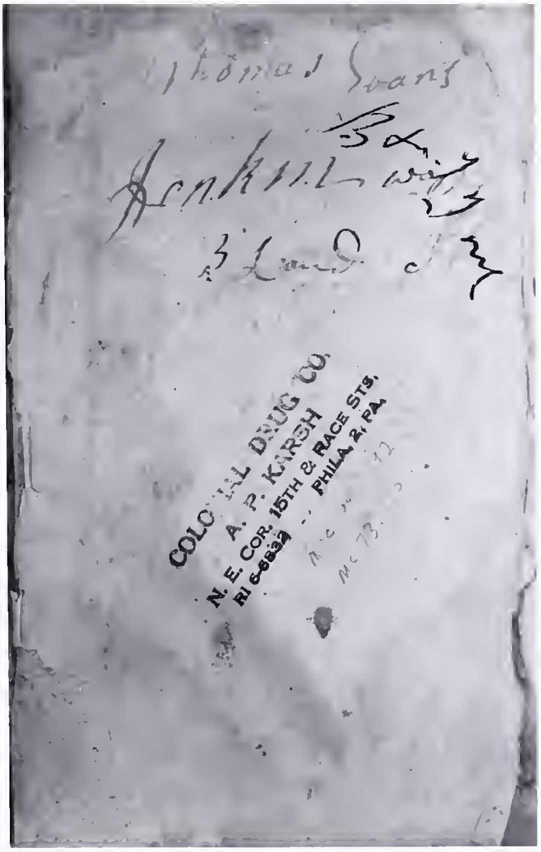
Thomas Evans
COLO AL DRUG CO.
A. P. KARSH
N. E. COR. 15TH & RACE STS.
RI 6-6832 PHILA. 2, PA.
Mc 73.

Figure 5: Inside Front Cover of the Mystic Manuscript.

[PAGE iii] "When wine has been drunk there is made a separation of spirits in the body; much resembling that which is made by distillation; for the heat of the bowels warming it, causes the speritiuous parts to spread on all sides, through the pores, and some part of them to mix with the blood, and rarefie it; from whence it come to rejoyce the heart and increas the vigor of the whole body: but because these spirits do always tend upwards the greatest part flies into the Brain, where it quickens its motion, and produces a certain quiety of mind." [PAGES iv, v, vi are blank]

****

This obviously does not qualify as a modern pharmacological or physiological explanation of the effects of ethanol, but it is a very vivid description of what one feels during the process of becoming intoxicated. In addition, it is indicative of the scientific thought of the period. First, the reference to distillation is a direct link to the chemical school that saw the body as a complex chemical machine. And second, the reference to the digestion of the wine by the bowels and then its spiritous parts being carried by the blood is directly related to Galenic theory.

On page ii there is the third inscription. The handwriting is more careless than that in the wines essay on pages i and iii.

****

[PAGE ii] On the top of page two lines have been scratched out. Below this is a three line piece that was written and also scratched out. Further downthe page starts the following: "after the Humour is

expelled heal the Ulcer with Basilic Vivid." (In between this and the line followine is written: "a Felon(Helon?)", which may be an insert into the next line) "Rx. Yest of Hony and 2 spoonfulls Arsmant Rue and half a handfull." Below this prescription is: "For Mr John Evans."

****

The identity of Mr. John Evans had been traced to several possiblities. First is a John Evans (fl. 1703-1731) who was deputy governor of Pennsylvania from 1703 to 1707, and whose father was a seafarer named Thomas.[55] Second, is a Jonathan Evans Jr. whose son was Thomas Evans (1798-1868). The family was from Philadelphia and Thomas became a druggist.[56] Finally, is a John Evans who was born in 1786, and was a druggist for years in London. He started a firm called Stable & Evans in 1823 that has prgressed through various forms and is now owned by Glaxo Laboratories Limited.[57] The latter two are the more likely candidates based upon the years that they flourished and their pharmaceutical occupations.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

To better understand the historical environment in which the manuscript was compiled, the socio-political forces affecting physicians and their practice will be examined.

From its creation in 1518 the Royal College of Physicians of London was the center of medical authority in England. By Royal Charter the Royal College controlled physicians in the city of London and for seven miles around. It "...concerned itself with standards of professional care in all its aspects and with fundamental principles in medical skills".[58]

Its members were the elite of the medical establishment, not only in training, but in social rank as well. Continuing in the fashion of the medieval priest-physicians they symbolized medical learning and catered to their rich and powerful patron-patients.

The first encroachment upon the authority of the Royal College came with the rising status of the apothecaries. In 1617 The Society of Apothecaries was granted a charter that separated them from the Grocers. This separation was necessary because of the increasing number of medicines including the chemical cures introduced by Paracelsus.

Since the apothecary had always worked in conjunction with the physicians, the charter placed them under the auspices of the College of Physicians. They were to "...call on the President and the Four Censors of the College of Physicians for 'advisement' in regards to the Society's Ordinances which concerned Medicines and

Compositions."[59]

The apothecary's charter stipulated a rigorous system of seven years apprenticeship followed by written and practical examinations. The Society actively insured the competence of its members.

> From the first the Society encouraged the study of botany and arranged excursions for gathering herbs. After 1633 fines were imposed on those members who failed to attend these excursions. Knowledge of Latin was insisted on, and in 1683 a note was made that a would-be apprentice was rejected because of his ignorance in that language.[60]

In 1623 the Society of Apothecaries had established a Galenic laboratory for the preparation of vegetable medicines and for instructing apprentices; in 1671 a second laboratory was added for the new chemical substances.[61] Thus, with their organization into a unified body the apothecaries were able to raise their professional standards, promote a more scholarly attitude, and grow with the new scientific developments that were expanding the practice of medicine.

In 1617 the apothecary was a filler of prescriptions, but quickly became a practitioner of 'physick'. Leslie Mathews explains the growth and activities of the apothecary's profession very well:

> The extent to which the apothecaries practiced medicine during the early years of the Society is not clear. The majority, in London at all events, relied upon the physicians for prescriptions or 'Bills' as they were called, and largely for instructions concerning other drugs that were needed....Since the number of Fellows of the College of Physicians during the 17th century scarcely exceeded a hundred at any one time, and these were not all in practice in London, the families requiring medical attention would for the most part have had to call either a medical man who had been granted a license of the College or the apothecary. The crux of the matter is often stated regarding the time of the Plague, when it is said that the physicians left the city and that the

> apothecaries stayed to help in treating the population. To what degree this statement is true cannot be ascertained with any precision, but if partly true, there is little doubt that the public came to think of the apothecary as their 'family doctor' and called the physician only when the case was a serious one or when the standing of the family demanded.[62]

The last point raised by Mathews is of particular interest. The physicians of the Royal College treated their peers of the elite class. However, most people were not of this class and most of the population went to apothecaries not only to have their prescriptions filled, but also for medical advice.

> In the original charter of the apothecaries there was nothing which forbade them to examine and treat a patient who was sick with an internal complaint. The physicians had tried hard to get such a forbidding clause put into the charter, but had failed. The fight between the two bodies continued for a century, but for the physicians it was a losing fight, for as the population increased the number of physicians did not increase in proportion, while the number of apothecaries rapidly grew.[63]

The number of physicians grew slowly because their numbers were purposefully self-limited. In addition, political unrest in seventeenth century England made it difficult for the College to maintain a cohesive organization, thus hindering their expansion, while allowing the apothecaries greater reign. The growth of the apothecaries quickly brought them into confrontation with the physicians.

Initially the antagonism between the two groups was due to the apothecaries dispensing unprescribed and unapproved medicines. The College tried to prohibit the apothecaries from dispensing substances except on the demand of a physician. This would have effectively shut down the "medical practice" of the apothecaries, but with the outbreak

of the civil war the motion was not acted upon.[64] During the political unrest the apothecaries power further expanded, and with the return of stability their confrontation with the physicians renewed with increased intensity.

> Lengthy and sometimes ponderous tracts and pamphlets were put out, first by one side and then by the other, to prove that the apothecary was incompetent and a neglector of his duties and, conversely, that the physician was arrogant, was unfamiliar with the medicines he prescribed and that the physicians as a body were making a profit out of their so-called charitable dispensaries.[65]

It seems likely that there was justification for the ill will found on both sides. The apothecaries experienced strong competition from the College's dispensary, which was opened in 1696 by the physicians in an attempt to control the available medicines and to suppress the power of the apothecaries. The apothecaries continued increasing their stocks of unapproved remedies since this was the only way they could maintain a competitive edge. This further antagonized the physicians, who rightly saw these unapproved cures as a direct challenge to their authority. The apothecaries persisted, knowing that they were the ones truly serving the people, and performing a vital function.

When most of the physicians left the infected cities during the bubonic plagues that swept through England in mid-century the apothecaries became increasingly important as providers of health care. At the same time, because the physicians remedies worked no better against the dread disease than did the apothecary's treatments, their public support was weakened. Thus, the apothecary increasingly

gained respect, acceptance and power.

In 1704 the apothecaries made a large step forward when the House of Lords, against the strong wishes of the Royal College, decided that the apothecaries could prescribe medicines. However, although they could sell the medicines they could not charge for their "advice".[66] The decision officially recognized what had become regular practice; the apothecaries were the common man's 'family doctor'.

The basis for the decision by the House of Lords was that it was in the best interest of the general public for the apothecary to be able to dispense information as well as medicine.[67] It appears that the physicians were more concerned with maintaining their monopoly on the practice of medicine and catering to their rich clientele than on the well being of the general population.

The status of medical practice in England during the early part of the eighteenth century was in flux. The physicians were highly esteemed, but there were too few. The apothecaries were numerous and accessible, and acted as family practitioners. In the wake of the progress made by the apothecaries, many quacks and empirics flourished. They were unorganized and unregulated. While practicing outside of acceptable norms, they promoted all manner of cures. However, there was a great difference in competence between the true apothecary and the often grossly negligent empiric, which was not always easily discernible to the lay public.

Turning back to the Mystic Seaport manuscript, it can now be seen that the author/compiler was most likely an apothecary. Given the

state of medical practice at the time it seems likely that an apothecary would be interested in the clinical wisdom of Riverius found in the manuscript. Since he would also be intimately involved with preparing remedies, a section on prescriptions would also be essential. Such would not be the case for a physician of the time, who would not be preparing the medicines himself. In addition, the manuscript's table of contents (Appendix B), refers to such various concepts that it would be unlikely that a proper licensed physician would be interested in using such a compendium. The inclusion of the material from Culpeper and Salmon also adds to the argument for an apothecary author. It is possible the author was an empiric, but, if so, a well educated and sophisticated member of that group.

An additional piece of evidence comes from an inscription written on the inside back cover of the manuscript. The handwriting is the same as that found in the main body of the text.

****

> June the 16th 1721 I bargained with Mr. Springwell for a quarter of a year, Mr. John Conigham(Corigham?) Mr. Stewart being present and I'm to have according 12 pounds a year: I entered home that very day being Friday.

****

This appears to be a description of apprenticeship, or employment, of some sort, although it is not clear why a term of a quarter of a year is specified, and what "entered home" refers to. From this it might be inferred that the author is being apprenticed to a Mr. Springwell. In addition to being present as witnesses, perhaps it was under Mr. Conigham or Mr. Stewart's tutelage that he learned

Latin, and from whose books he copied the sections that comprise the manuscript. These names had no connection with the recorded medical establishment in that era however.[68]

The questions now arises as to authorship: who was "Andreas Maior". At one stage of researching this manuscript the most likely possibility seemed to be that of John Andree the Elder (1699?-1785). In the Dictionary of Historical Biography John Andree the Elder is cited as:

> [1699?-1785] physician, whose place of birth is unknown, was M.D. Rheims, 1739, and licentiate of the College of Physicians, London, 1741. Dr. Andree practiced in London, and wrote several books; but is chiefly known for his connection with the London Hospital, first called the London Infirmary, which he was chiefly concerned in founding in 1740, and of which he was the first and for some time the only physician. He resigned this office and retired from practice in 1764, and died 4 Feb. 1785.[69]

Additional information about John Andree is scant. To assume that his name was latinized to "Andreas Maior", it would have to be assumed the he was the oldest son, and that was why he was designated "Major", or "Maior" in Latin. His designation as "the Elder" is misleading since his son John Andree(fl. 1790) was not born until 1740, and thus John Andree would not have been the Elder in 1720 when the manuscript was written.[70]

The supposition that John Andree was the author is further supported however by two events from his life. First, he did not attend medical school until he was almost forty years old. It was not uncommon for someone to start as an apothecary and then later acquire a medical degree. These degrees were acquired either by going to

medical school or by simply the adding on of a title.[71] In addition, the type of practice that Andree was involved with at the London Infirmary was in keeping with the notion that he had started as an apothecary. In such a place he would have treated the general population much as he would have as a family doctor/apothecary.

However, a comparison of the manuscript with known Andree manuscripts in the British Library in London and his signature on a 1752 document reveal the handwriting to be different.[72][73]

Thus, much about the manuscript remains a mystery, yet much has also been learned. It is a work compiled by a single person, presumably an apothecary, from published texts. The original sources spanning from the clinical wisdom of Riverius to the charlatan works by Salmon; the contents ranging from theoretical pathology and pharmacology, to clinical case studies and beyond to what borders on "household hints". But the work remains within definite boundaries and guide-lines; the extent to which astrology was utilized is limited, and the therapeutic area combines Paracelsian thought with classical Galenism.

With a partial transcription now available, and major sections attributed to their original sources this manuscript has been added to the small but growing body of works available to those investigating the history of the common practitioner. This area of study has received little attention in the past, the majority of investigation being directed towards the "Great Men" of medical thought. Burnby affirms this view, "The background, work, and life of those

apothecaries who have made made a mark in the world, primarily the scientific world, have in some degree been investigated and further facts are not difficult to elucidate, But the story is different for the 'ordinary run-of-the-mill-chap'. His activities and position in the community have rarely been scrutinized."[74] Thus, the development of the common man's physician is a largely unexplored area in medical history. Through analysis of volumes such as the Mystic Seaport Manuscript, our appreciation of the apothecary and his contributions to the evolution of the modern common practitioner will be further advanced.

EPILOGUE

The inscriptions found at the front of the manuscript have already been discussed. Based on these several conjectures about the travels of the manuscript can be made. This author believes that the druggist John Evans from London was the owner of the book subsequent to the original author. Through routes unknown, the manuscript came into the possession of the Colonial Drug Company in Philadelphia. This change of ownership might have occurred through the selling of the book as an historical piece from an English pharmacist or chemist to an American colleague. Lastly, the descendants of A. P. Karsh probably donated his library to the Mystic Seaport Library. There some of the books were catalogued and others were simply stored as this one was. In 1973, during inventory, this manuscript was catalogued, but its origins by then were lost. Being unrelated to maritime studies, the volume remained unscrutinized until my inquiries began in 1983.

AN EXPLANATION OF HARD TERMS USED IN THE NEW LONDON DISPENSATORY [75]

Abstersive, that is of a cleansing mundifying, propery, resisting putrefaction.

Alexipharmic, which resist contagion, infection, poison, plague, smalpox[sic],and all venemous diseases, strengthen ye heart and spirits.

Analeptica, that it is a great strengthener of the body, and restores in consumptions and decays of nature.

Anodyne, which ease all manner of pains in any part by its thin and heating quality.

Aperient, that it is subtile, and an opener, and takes away all obstructions, especially in ye principal parts, and are opposite to astringents.

Arthritick, that it is good against the gout, siratick, rheumatism, all manner of pains of the joints, comforts and strenghtens you:

Astringent, or Styptick, which are cold, vivid, close the mouths of the vessels, thicken, and bind.

Apophlelgmatisms, which are hot, and draw rheum by chewing or gargling.

Attenuating, which make thin, are hot in 3°[third degree?]: salt, biting, vitrous, cut and dissolve.

Attractive, which draw matter or humors to any part designed.

Bechick, which are good against colds, coughs, asthma's and help tickling rheums.

Cardiack, which comforte[sic] strengthen the heart, helps swooning=fits, and palpitations, and revives the spirits.

[PAGE] 22)

Carminative, which discuss and expel wind, lodged in any part of the body and give ease in the colick.

Catagmatick which are good to consolidate, broken bones, and strengthen luxations.

Catharetick, which are used to eat away dead flesh, ers ullum =burnt.

Cathartick, that it purge flegm, choller, or melancholy, or all of them by stool.

Caustick, which are used to make issues with.

Cephalick, which comforts and strengthens the head and brain, dry; up catarrih's and is good against all the diseases afflicting the head; as head=aches, apoplexy, epilepsy, vertigo's, &:c:

Chologogues, which perge choler, whether upward or down=wards.

Cicatrizing, which by drying and astringing; skin scars and heal.

Comfortael, which comfort and strengthen.

Corrobarate, which strengthen the heart, fortify the body, or any of its parts.

Corrosive, which corrodes and eat, or take away proud flesh.

Cosmetick, which takes away flesh, itch, letters, freckles, morphew, pimples, redness, and all deformations of the skin.

Detergent, which purge, purifie, and cleanse.
Diaphoretick, whick provoke sweat, the same in nature with sudorificks.
Discussive, whick is of a dissolving nature, by a transpiration: these are diaphoreticks.
[PAGE] 23)
Discutient, which repel, diseases, or resolve any matter, wind or water, or humors.
Diuretick, whick opens obstinations in the veins and bladder, purges and provokes urine, and helps the strangury.

Eccoprotick, which loosen the belly, and carry out ye excrements.
Emetick, whick purge chiefly by vomiting.
Emmenagogues, which provoke the terms out in women, and brings away both birth and after:birth.
Emollient, which melt, soften, relax and mollifie all manner of tumors and hardness in any part.
Emplastick, which without achimony, dry, fill, the pores, and stick to anything.
Enyhrutick(?), which by their oiliness and claminess, stop the pores.
Epitick(?), which comfort and strengthen the liver.
Epulotick, which heal sores, bring up flesh and cicatrize.
Errhine, which draws flegm, and water, not from the venticle of the brain, but from the meninges to the nostriles, without sneezing.
Expectorate, which cause the spitting up of flegm.
Extergent, which are of a drying, thin substance, nitrous, and bitter, taking away claminess.

Glutinan, which are emplathick and soder or glew together.

Hepatick, which opens obstentions of the liver, strengthens it, helps the rickets, scurvy, cachexion, &:c:
Humect, which moistens and takes away hardness and dryness.
Hydrogogues, which purge watery humors, chiefly by stool.
Hypnotick, which cause rest, sleep andease, a somuoresick.
[PAGE] 24)
Hysterick, which cure diseases of the womb.

Incarnative, which generates flegm in a wound or ulcer.
Inciding, which cut, atteniate and make matter or humors thin.
Incrassant, which make thin humors thick.
Indurans, which coagulate, congeal, or harden, being generally cold in 3°: [third degree?].

Laxative, whick gently relax and purge, chiefly the bowels,
Lenitive, which soften and loosen.
Lithontriptick, which dissolves, breaks, expels and brings away the stone and gravel from both veins and bladder.
Lyptintick(?), which is of subtil[sic] parts, alternates and makes thin the humors.

Maturative, which ripen, digest, and cause matter in wounds or tumors.

Melanagogues, which purge atrabilis, or melancholy and a dissaffected spleen.

Nephritick, which provokes urine, dissolves and brings away the stone and gravel in the veins and bladder, and are appropriated to the diseases of the veins or kidneys.

Narcotik, which is an easer[sic] of pain (not by removing the cause) but by stupification of the senses and cold.

Obstructing, which bind, astringe, make thick, and stop the mouths of the vessels.

Odontalgick, which cure pains of the teeth, and other distempers there.

[PAGE] 25)

Opthalmick, which cure disseases of the eyes.

Otalgick, which are appropriated to diseases of the ears.

Paragorick, which ease pain, warming, loosening, softening, and difussing.

Pectoral, which strengthens, the lungs and helps coughs, asthmas, wheesing, ulcers, spitting blood, &:c: and are dedicated to the stomach, and breath, curing diseases there:of

Philter which are designes to cause love.

Phlegmagogues, which purge plegm, chiefly downwards.

Psilothrous, which take of hair, called also depilatries.

Polychrest, which have manifold, or almost general vertues.

Ptarmick, which bring forth humors from the head, and brain by freezing.

Purging, which evacuate humors, or matter by vomit or by stool.

Putrefactive, which cause putrefication and corruption.

Pulmoniack, which are appropriated to the lungs, against asthma's, wheesing, &:c:

Pyretick, which burn; they are 3 fold, first catheretick, second by septick, thirdly caustick.

Rarifying, which make rare and thin, open the pores by sweating.

Refrigerative, which comforts and refresh by cooling property, and cool inflammations.

Repellers, which drive back the humors or matter to some other place.

Repercussive, which is of a repelling force, and drives back the humors to other parts.

[PAGE] 26)

Resolving, which difuse or take away the matter by insensible transpiration.

Sarcotick, which cleanse wound and ulcers without biting and breed flegm.

Semnotick, which is of a drying, binding quality, and good in generall

against all man^{er} of fluxes.
Seprick, which are good being used to draw blisters with.
Somnious(?), which are hypnotick, and provok sleep.
Splenetick, which strengthens the spleen opens it and is good against hypochondriack melancholy.
Stomachick, which fortifies the stomack, resists vomiting, expel wind, and causeth a good appetite.
Stomatick, which are appopriated to the stomach, to warm, strengthen, and comfort it.
Stupefactive, which are narcotick, and take away the sense of pain.
Sudorifick, or by diaphoretick, which provoke fever, strongly, expelling ag: by transpiration.

Transmitick, which being taken inwardly helps the healing of wounds and ulcers.

Uterine, or hysterick, which comforts the womb, and helps fits of the mother.

Vesication, the mindeth sort of pypoticks(?) which only raise blisters in the scarf:skin.
Vulnerary, which are external healers of wounds and ulcers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS FROM MANUSCRIPT [MISC. VOL 192]

	PAGE #:
"Thomas Evans" and "Colonial Drug" stamp	inside front cover
"Wines essay"	i
"Effects of wine essay"	iii
"Bookplate" Andrew Major - 1720	vii
"Latin and English - tobacco and gout"	viii
COMPREHENSIVE TERMS USED IN PHYSICK	1-5
Introduction	6
Astro-Physical Discourse	7-17
Latin and English - sulphur, salt and mercury	18
Characters used in Physick	19-20
An Explination of hard terms used in the new London Dispensatory	21-26

Observations and Histories of Famous and Rare Cures:

Abortions and Miscarriage	27-48
Aches in any part of the body	49-50
Afterbirth, etc.	51-54
Agues or intermitting feavers	55-58
Alcali; its description, etc.	59-60
Apitite lost; how to recover it	61-62
Asthma's or Wheeezings, etc.	63-64
Atrophy, etc.	65-66
Attractive Medicines	67-68
Composition of the artificial Balsum	69-70
Composition of the Abereorns Balsum	71-72
Barks; to prepair	73
Bezoar: mineral:	
Birdlime; how to make	75
Birth; to hasten	
Biting of mad dogs	
Blains; to cure	
Bleeding at the nose	
Blemishes in the skin	76
Blood; coagulated	
Blood; hot	
Blood; to prepair	
Blood; to purge	
Blood; to purifie	
Blows gotten on the tibiea	
Boachs to cure	
Body colour; how to dye	
Boheetum	77-78
Boiles; to cure	
Brain; moist	
Brass; to prepair	
Breath; to make sweet	
Bruises; all maner	79-81

Burnings; all sorts	82-83
Burnt lead; to mak	
Cachexy	84
Calaminaris; to prepair	
Camphir; how to make	
Canker; how to cure	
Cardiacks	85
Caries in the bone	
Carminatives	
Catarrh's	
Cathartícks	
Cauters; how to make	86
Cephalicks	
Cerecloth; to rap up Dead corps with; how to make	87-88
Child weak	
Chin=Cough	89
Chaps in womens duggs	
Claminess of the blood	
Clysters	90
Cods swelled	
Coldness in the joints or other parts	91
Colick	
Colliriums	92
Constipation	93
Conf: rad: enul: camp:	
Conserves	
Conserv: rad: enul: camp:	94
Consero: rosar:	
Consumptions	95-98
Convulsion=fitts, Epilepsie, etc.	99-102
Convulsion=fitts; in Children	103-104
Convulsions, or Spasm, or Cramps, etc.	105
Cooling medicines	106 [note p 106 is labelled 105]
Coralls; to prepair	
Cordialls	107
Cordiall excellent	108
Corns of feet or toes	109-110
Coroboratives	
Coughs	111-115
Courses to provok or move	116
Crab=lice; how to banish	
Crem: Tarts: alias winestone; to wash	
Deafness; how to remedie	117
Decays	118
Defluctions	
Delivery easy and speedy to procure	119
Dentifricks	
Diagryd or Leamony; to perpair	
Diascordium	120
Digesters of meat	
Digestives for wounds or ulcers, etc.	121

Discussives	
Dislocations	
Disorder in the head	
Distracted persons	
Diureticks	122
Drawing medicines	
Dropsies	123-125
Drouth; how to remedie	126
Dyet=drinks	
Dysenteria or bloody flux	127-128
Earth=worm; how to prepair	129
Electuar: Diacathol:	
Electuar: hydragog: or panchym:	
Electuar: Lenitio:	130
Elixer Dastiee; Salutis; receptr	130-132
Elixer: proprietatis	
Elixer: Stoughton	
Emp:^{t} contra rupturam	133
Emp:^{t} Corrobarativ	
Emp:^{t} corrabarativ: of the Mountebanks	
Emp:^{t} Defensative: rub	
Emp:^{t} Diachyl: Simp:	
Emp:^{t} Diachyl: mangn: c: gum:	134
Emp:^{t} Diachyl: comp: or D: mueilag	
Emp:^{t} Epispasticum	
Emp:^{t} D: melitot: Simp:	
Emp:^{t} oxycroc: receptum	135
Emp:^{t} paracels: or Salve	136-137
Emp:^{t} plumbeum, or of lead	137-138
Emp:^{t} D: vigone, or D: viperar	
Erylipelas, and such like inflamations	139
Extract: liquiritiee	
Eyes sore, and inflamed	140-143
Faintings	144
Feavers; all sorts	145-155
Feet swelled	
Fellons, furuncles, or Boils	156
Fistulas	
Flegm to cut and purge	
Flowers of women stoped	
Fluxes all sorts	157-160
Fluxes mensium	161-162
Fractures; all sorts	
French Pox	163-165
Gargarisms	
Gonorhea; to stop	
Gout; all sorts	167-168
Gravel; how to remedie	168-174
Green=Sickness	175-176
Grynding dry	177
Gryping of the gutts	

Gums; all sorts	177-178
Hamorrage of the nose	179-182
Head=ache; how to remedie	182-184
Heat in any part	
Hemroids; whither blind or apearing	
Hives in Childer	185
Hoarsness; to take away	186
Honey; how to clarifie	
Horses; how to purge and order	186-188
Humor cold, etc.	
Humors watery; to purge, etc.	
Husband=Ill, to make chirefull, etc.	189
Hypersarcosis	
Hypnoticks	
Hysterick=fitts	189-194
Jaundice	195-196
Jelly of harts=horne; to make	197
Iliacal passion	
Imposthumes	
Indigestion of the stomach	
Infants diseases	198
Inflamations all sorts	198-200
Infus; Benedict	
Injection for the womb	
Joynts decaying and weak	201
Issnes, alias cauters, alias fontinals	201-202
Itch; how to cure	203-204
Ins corroboraus	205
Kidnies hot, and pained	
Kings=evill, etc.	
Kink=host	
Knee pained	
Lae amygdallarum	206
Land: liquid: tincture	
Legs sore and swelled	207
Lice; how to kill	
Lientria or bloody flux	
Liver hot; how to cool	
Living from the dead (distinguish between)	207-208
Loch=leeches; where to aply	209-210
Lohoch: san: and expert	
Loosness, etc.	211
Lossed lather, or galled in riding	212
Love or pro Cupidinis vuluere	
Lues venerea; how to cure	213-214
Marasmus	215-216
Maturatives	
Measles in children	217-218
Meat strengthening	
Melancholy abounding	
Member Decaying, etc.	

Menstrual blood	219
Mercur: Dule: how to make	
Milk how to procure into ye breasts	220
Milk how to scail in the breasts	
Mother=fitts	
Moths how to keep from cloths	
Mouth or throat sore	
Musked confects; how to make	221
Nephriticks	
Niples of the breasts sore	
Mirles in children	
Obstructions, mother=fitts, etc.	222
Obstruction: mensir:	
Obstruction of the reins	
Obstruction of the spleen	
Obstruction of the terms	223
Ol: lumbricor: terrrestr:	
Opium; how to prepair	224
Outbreaking in a young boy, etc.	
Pains in any part of ye body	225-227
Pains from cold, etc.	
Pains from the spleen	
Pallat or uvula of the throat inflamed	228-229
Panchymagogos	230-231
Paregoricks	232
Pectorals	
People wealthy	
Piels	
Pilul (c: aculeo or with the prick or Spur)	233
Pilul: ceephalic:	
Pilul: D: cynogloss	
Pilul: voc: extract: ellebor: nig:¢r	234
Pilul: fatid	
Pilul: fam: nostr	
Pilul: D: hermodact: D: opoparns:	
Pilul: mihi;	235
Pilul: pestilential: ruffii;	
Pilul: purg: voe Charles Craig's	236
Pilul: exceedingly good for the running of the reins	
Pilul: for bringing on salivation	
Pilul: solutiv:	
Pilul: D: styrace;	237
Pilul: sudorifieantes;	
Plucks;	
Pluisies;	237-242
Poyson taken	243
Poyson from venemous creatures	
Printers ink	
Preservatives of health	
Ptisama infrigidans	244
Black Puddings; to make	

White Puddings; to make	245
Pulv: alexiphar:	246
Pulv: contra vermes	
Pulv: cordiall	
Pulv: Degotteta	247
Pulv: Diapente	
Gascons own powder	248
Pulv: for hair	
Pulv: haly or Dr. Haly's powder	249
Pulv: pro lumbrieis	
Pulv: ard lumbricos: magistral;	250
Pulv: voc: Lady Kents powder	
Pulv: peptie:	
Pulv: Sauct:	251
Pulv: Sternutator:	
Pulv: Styptie:	252
Purging medicaments;	252-254
Quinsies	255-256
Rats; how to kill	257
Raving how to remedie;	
Recetp of Madam Shaws;	
Refrigeratives	258
Relapses in feavers;	
Rest; how to procure;	
Restorative medacines	259-260
Restrictives	
Rickets in Children	261-262
Ring=worm	262
Rose in any member	263
Rumatism's	263-265
Runing of the rein	266-267
Ruptures	
Sal: prunell; how to make	268-269
Sal: tartar:	
Sal: volat:	
Salivation; how to bring it on	
Salmom; how to preserve from smelling	
Salve, voe: the chief of salves	269-271
Saint Anthonys fire	272
Scaldings;	
Scaldings of bairns;	
Scamony; how to prepair	
Sciatica or hip=gout	271-274
Scurvey	275-279
Sealing wax	280
Sem: coriander	
Serum lact: clarificat	281
Shortness of breath	
Sight to recover	
Silver how to cleanse	
Small pox	282-288

Somnorificks	
Sores; all sorts; from cold, etc.	
Spec: diapente, or of 5 simples	289
Spec: hieree simp: pho ore	
Spirit: anis:	
Spirit: vitrol: Its vertues	
Spitting of Blood;	290-291
Spleen; remedies for it	291-293
Spyce cape; how to make	
Steel; how to repair	294
Stitches; all sorts	
Stomatick's	295-298
Sudorificks	
Sun=burning	299
Supository's	300
Sweat; to hinder	
Swellings	
Syrup: Balsamie:	301
Syrup: Cariophyllor:	
Syrup: Colocynthid:	
Syrup: pectoral:	
Syrup: rosar: palidar:	302
Syrup: of snail shells	
Syrup: of black bays or rob diamoron	
Syrup: of Tussilagin:	303
Syrup: W: Rx cord:	
Tabellee sunt or pectoral:	304
Tabell: emetie:	304-305
Tenesmus, or Strangury	306
Terms; to provoke	
Testicles; contused or bruised	
Theriac: venet:	307
Thrift	
Throat sore	
Tooth=ache	308-310
Tochisei alb: rhasis;	
Ulcers; all sorts	311-312
Ung:^{t} eegyptiae:	313
Ung:^{t} alb: camphorat:	
Ung:^{t} Balilicon:	
Ung:^{t} for burning, scaldings	313-314
Ung:^{t} Calid:	315
Ung:^{t} Defensiv:	
Ung:^{t} Dialth:	
Ung:^{t} fabar: or bean flowers	
Ung:^{t} frigid:	316
Ung:^{t} frigid: Galen:	
Ung:^{t} ophthalmic:	317
Ung:^{t} ophthalimic: Ronedens	
Ung:^{t} pro Raehite, invented by the Lady Marehioness of Mountross	
Unguent: stomach	318

Unguent: tutiee	
Urine stopt, how to provoke	319
Vermin to banish	
Vin: amor:	
Vm: emetie:	320
Vomitts or emeticks	320-321
Vomiting; to stay	322
Warts	323
Washes for the face	
Whites	324
Wind in the stomach	325
Womens Diseases;	326-327
Worms in childrer, etc.	328-331
Wounds and ulcers;	331-334

The text ends here half-way down the page. There seems to be about ten(10) pages missing from the book at the end. However, it seems as though they were cut out. Perhaps the writting was done in a prebound blank book, and when it was finished the extra pages at the end were cut out.

On the one page remaining before the back cover there is a partial index. On the back of this, upside down is the name Rick E. Chochran, with some doodling. On the inside of the back cover there is a single index note on the top, and an upside down inscription on the bottom.

Here are presented the Verses by Thomas May Esq. from the Astrologo:physical discourse in Nicholas Culpeper's Pharmacopoeia Londinensis 1702 (London).

Sanguine Complexion

There although fly in companies,
Of different colours, shapes and qualities,
Bright Sanguine Dreams, that seem to cheer the night
With beauteous shape, and rosie wings as bright,
As if the morning, of those Flowers that grace
In midst of Spring, the painted Flora's face;
Within the Temple merrily do sport,
To whom the little Cupids oft resort;
The little Cupids from fair Venus Grove,
Stealing night, do thither come and love,
With those bright sanguine Dreams to pass away
The hours of night, in sport and amorous play.

Cholerick Complexion

There dreams of Choler in flame-like hue,
Through th' Air, like little fiery Meteors flew
With swift and angry motion to and fro,
As if they sought within that place, a foe:
Sometimes to the Temple, roof, on high,
They soar, as if they meant to scale the Skie:
Of some impossible achievment sought
T' allay the thirst of inspiring thought.

Melancholick Complexion

But down below, with sad and heavy cheer,
On dead men's Tombs, and every Sepulchre,
The dusky Dreams of Melancholy dight,
With fable wings, like Bats, or Birds of night.
Fluttering in darkest corners, here and there,
But all alone, and still each other fear;
Courting dead skulls, and seeming to invite
The dismal Ghosts, for company by night.

Flegmatick Complexion

There all along the Temples whited wall,
Flegmatick lazie Dreams, not wing'd at all,
But flow, like slimy Snails, about do crawl,
And evermore are thence afraid to fall,
And so be drown'e; for on the floor below
They do suppose great Pools of water flow.

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